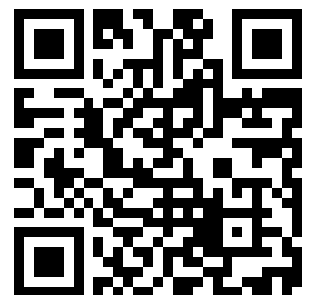
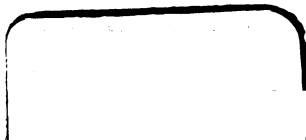

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THE
HISTORY, ARCHITECTURE, AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. CANICE,

KILKENNY.

BY

THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., AND JOHN G. AUGUSTUS PRIM.

DUBLIN:

HODGES, SMITH, & COMPANY, GRAFTON-STREET,

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1857.

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TO THE MEMORY

OF

THE MOST HONORABLE JOHN, MARQUIS OF ORMONDE,

This Work,

COMMENCED UNDER HIS AUSPICES, FURTHERED BY HIS ENCOURAGEMENT, AND ENRICHED
FROM HIS INVALUABLE ANCESTRAL MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS,

IS,

WITH SORROW FOR HIS UNTIMELY DEATH,

DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHORS.

P R E F A C E .

THE completion of this work having been delayed long beyond the period originally contemplated for its publication, the Authors feel called on to assure their readers that the interval has been unremittingly devoted to the examination of every public and private source of information, manuscript and printed, whence light could be thrown on their subject. Their toil has, in some cases, been productive only of a negative result; in most instances, however, it has been rewarded by stores of new and interesting material.

It was at first designed to comprise within the limits of the work, in addition to what is now given to the public, a history of the See and Bishops of Ossory, as well as of the Episcopally founded Corporation of the Irishtown of Kilkenny, and to have included within the Section of Monumental Antiquities memoirs of many persons known to have been buried within the walls of the cathedral, although their tombs no longer exist there. The great accumulation of materials, already alluded to, rendered it, however, necessary either to increase the size and price of the work, or to abandon a portion of the original plan. The Authors were prepared to carry out the whole to the fullest extent, but the Publishers, who had undertaken the work at their own risk, came to the conclusion that to

make one part of the subject as complete as possible, was better than to issue a compendium of the entire. It was also thought desirable to touch with brevity on the history of those personages whose actions have already been recorded in easily accessible publications. It is right to observe that the Authors never stipulated for any pecuniary recompense for their labours; and as, independently of a considerable increase in the number of illustrations, the amount of letter-press devoted to the work as now issued, exceeds by more than a third the quantity originally promised to Subscribers, the Publishers have little hope of ultimate reimbursement, not to say profit. It is hoped that hereafter sufficient encouragement may be given to bring out a separate work embracing the rest of the matter collected by the Authors during the progress of the present volume.

In printing the monumental inscriptions, the errors of O'Phelan, and of those who have used his MS., were at first noticed as they occurred; but this plan was quickly abandoned, in consequence of the amount of space requisite for so many additional notes. Accuracy has been insured by repeated comparison of the proofs with the monuments themselves.

The greater part of the illustrations have been drawn by the Rev. James Graves—the architectural portion from actual admeasurement. The Authors have to thank Mr. E. Fitzpatrick for two drawings; and, wherever necessary, competent artists have also been employed. The careful wood engraving of Mr. W. Oldham and Mr. G. A. Hanlon has been combined with the known excellence of the University Press to bring out the work in a manner which, it is hoped, will reflect credit on Irish Artists and Publishers.

Where many have been kind, it must seem invidious to single out a few: yet the names of the Rev. William Reeves, D. D., who has read the proof-sheets

PREFACE.

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as they issued from the press, and otherwise given his able assistance to the Authors; and of John O'Donovan, Esq., LL. D., whose invaluable stores of information were ever at their service when required, cannot be withheld. To them, and to their many other generous friends and fellow-workers, the Authors return their unfeigned thanks: they have (if they may venture to adopt the words of one who could more worthily use them) but "as poor labourers carried the carved stones and polished pillars, from the hands of the more skilful architects, to be set in their fit places, which here they offer upon the altar of love to their country, and wherein they have held it no sacrilege to rob others of their richest jewels to adorn this their most beautiful nurse, whose womb was their conception, whose breasts were their nourishment, whose bosom their cradle, and lap (they doubt not) shall be their bed of sweet rest, till Christ by His trumpet raise them thence."

KILKENNY, *August*, 1857.

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THE
HISTORY, ARCHITECTURE, AND ANTIQUITIES
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THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. CANICE.

SECTION I.
THE CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—SEIR-KIERAN AND AGHABO.

AT the outset of a work professing to treat of the Cathedral of Ossory, the reader will naturally expect to meet with some notice of the ancient monastic communities of Seir-Kieran and Aghabo, supposed by nearly every writer* who has touched on the subject to have served in turn as the mother churches of the diocese, ere Kilkenny became the cathedral city; the more so, as the question suggested by the connexion which existed between the primitive monasticism and episcopacy of Ireland is one of great interest to the student of ecclesiastical history. The full discussion of this subject will, however, more properly claim our attention in a separate work to be especially devoted to the history of the bishops and see of Ossory; suffice it, for the present, to observe that the hagiology and authentic annals of Ireland almost universally represent the primitive Irish bishop as the head of a body of clergy and disciples whom his missionary exertions and the fame of his sanctity had gathered round the cell, founded oftentimes by their prelate when an ascetic dweller *inter ethnicos*, or

* See a MS. Treatise, *De Ossoriensi Diocesi* vol. i., p. 398, &c.; *Hibn. Dominicana*, pp. 18, §4, Mus. Brit., Cod. Clarend., tom. li., p. 19; *Acta* 297; Mason's *Parochial Survey*, vol. i., p. 33; *SS. Hibn.*, tom. i., p. 473, col. a; Harris's *Ware*, Shee's *St. Canice*, p. 12; &c.

Reeves' *Ecel. Antiq.*, pp. 136, 137.

in eremo, amongst the heathen or in the desert. The code by which the new-made converts regulated their daily life was given to them by their spiritual father. Thus a *cœnobium* was formed, from whence, as from a centre, the joint labours of the bishop and his clergy gradually extended amongst the surrounding heathen, until met by the similarly widening circles of kindred communities; and as monastery after monastery sprang up, the abbot-prelates resided in this place or in that, as one church rose into fame, or another sank into obscurity.

Ecel. Hist., vol. i., pp. 29-33.

SEIR-KIERAN^a.—There can be little doubt that from a community thus constituted the first preachers of Christianity went forth amongst the rude and turbulent tribes of ancient Ossory; and it is not at all improbable that on this spot was also erected one of the earliest Christian churches in Ireland, a date anterior to the advent of St. Patrick being generally assigned to the founding of the cell at Saighir by Kieran (Chiarain) the son of Lughaidh. It is true, that in the opposite scale must be placed the authority of the accurate and judicious Lanigan; who, deterred by the many difficulties which beset the advocacy of an earlier date, has fixed on the latter end of the fifth century as the more probable era of its foundation. But thus totally to reject all testimony in favour of the earlier epoch does not seem to be in accordance with the rules of sound criticism, much as it may tend to smooth the path of the historian. The Lives of Kieran, and those of Declan, Ailbhe, and Ibar, are unquestionably of great antiquity, and although comprising much that is fabulous, do not bear the marks of documents forged to support a preconceived theory. They are all opposed to Dr. Lanigan's conclusions; and it is assuming too much to suppose that they are altogether without foundation, especially when we recollect that they derive support from almost every historical authority bearing on the ancient Church history of Ireland.

Todd's *Church of St. Patrick*, p. 15.

Saighir, called, from its founder, Saighir-Chiarain, is situate in the King's County, and barony of Ballybritt, not far from the south-western extremity of the

^a Uap, gelidus, *Old Life of St. Patrick*; Fluuium *Huar* appellatum, *Vita Tripart. S. Pat.*; Fuaran, 1^a *Vita S. Kierani, Acta SS. Hibern.*, tom. i., p. 458; SÁIḂUAP (nomen fontis), *Felire Aengus*, 5^o Martii; SAIḂḂḂḂ, SAIḂḂḂ, SAIḂḂḂ ḂḂḂḂḂ, *Four Masters*; Seyrkieran, *Vascon Roll*, 17 Edw. I., Tur. Lond.; Sayrkeran, *Lib. Rub. Ossorien*, fol. 1; Serrkeran, *Clyn's Annals*; Shyrekeran, *Inquisition* on surrender of priory; Seir-Kieran, *modern usage*.

Slieve Bloom (Sliabh Bladhma) mountains. It gives its name to a parish which, although insulated by the diocese of Killaloe, is under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ossory,—thus affording an extremely interesting landmark of the sway borne in ancient times by the kings of Ossory over the territory of Eile O'Carrol. In the First Life of Kieran the geographical position of Saighir is most accurately marked: it is described as lying within the district of Eile, in the very centre of Ireland, on the confines of its ancient northern and southern divisions, Leath-Chuinn and Leath Mogha, and (a strong proof of the antiquity of the Life) in the region of Munster*. In the Gloss on the Festilogium of Aengus (5° Martii) the name is written Saiguar, and explained as “nomen fontis,” the name of a well, and there can be little doubt that such was the true and ancient orthography, Saig being the proper name, and uar, cool, *gelidus*, the descriptive epithet. The Leabhar Breac contains the injunction given by Patrick to Kieran, when, on his way to Rome, the Apostle of Ireland met the latter returning home to his native country. It runs as follows:—

*Miscell. of the
Celt. Soc., p. 21,
note d.*

Saig uar,
Cumbair catir por a bpu,
I cind xxx bliaban band
Conbripcem and 7 cu.

Saig the cold,
Erect a city on its brink,
At the end of thirty revolving years
There shall I and thou meet.

—Fol. 42, now 32.

The same inference may be drawn from the words of the Latin Life of Kieran

* “Et ait S. Patricius ad S. Kieranum; vade ad Hiberniam ante me, & adi fontem in medio Hiberniæ in confinio Australium & Aquilonarium Hiberniensem, qui vocatur Fuaran; & constitue ibi Monasterium, — — Fons vero ille sicut supra dictum est, in confinio (*alias partium*) Prouinciarum Hiberniæ constat; sed tamē in Australi plaga & regione Mumoniæ, videlicet in plebe, quæ vocatur Hele.”—*Acta SS. Hibn.*, tom. i., p. 458, col. b. In the very ancient Life of St. Mochoemog, or Pulcherius, the boundary

of the two provinces is thus incidentally alluded to:—“Veniens siquidem S. Pulcherius ad orientalem plagam Mumoniæ, quæ dicitur Eile contra Occidentalem terram Laginensium, quæ Ossraighi nominatur.”—*Id.*, p. 591, col. a. Eile or Ely O'Carroll anciently comprised the baronies of Ikerrin and Eliogarty in the county of Tipperary, in addition to those of Clonlisk and Ballybritt in the King's County, to which that territory was in after ages confined. The baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybritt are part of the present

quoted by Ussher, and of the First Life of the same saint, printed by Colgan, "Adi fontem—qui vocatur fuaran"^a: whilst the immediate import of the word is fixed in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, "*Huaran* enim, siue *Fueran*, idem *Hibernis* sonat quod fons viuus, siue viua vel frigida aqua è terra scaturiens."

Tr. Th., p. 186, col. b.

AA. SS. Hibn., tom. i., p. 458, col. b.

Idem, p. 473, col. a.

All over Ireland at this time Paganism was prevalent; indeed we can trace the existence of the Pagan priesthood at a much later period^b: the country around Saighir was then, moreover, a desert, clothed with dense forests, and untenanted save by wild beasts. Thither St. Kieran retired from his disciples^c; and there, about A. D. 402, constructed a cell of the humblest ma-

civil province of Leinster, but they still form a portion of the ecclesiastical province of Munster, thus affording one amongst many instances which might be adduced to prove that the present ecclesiastical divisions of Ireland preserve traces of its ancient civil boundaries. For the extent of ancient Ossory, which appears at an early period to have included Eile, and the claim set up by the Mumonians to the tract extending from Knockgraffon, in Tipperary, to the river Nore, see *The Book of Rights*, edited for the Celtic Society by Dr. O'Donovan, pp. 17, n. ²; 78, n. ¹; and 88, n. ¹; also the same writer's tract on *The Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory*, enlarged from the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, for the year 1850, p. 15.

^a In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, pars ii., cap. ix., *Huar* is given as the name of a river,— "juxta fluvium *Huar* appellatum."—*Tr. Th.*, p. 130, col. b. The etymology of Saighir given in the text rests on the high authority of Dr. O'Donovan and Eugene Curry, Esq.

^b *Acta SS. Hibn.*, tom. i., p. 460, col. a. A catena of the various passages referring to the Pagan *cultus* of Ireland, previous to the introduction of Christianity, which occur in our hagiography, would form a most interesting work, and correct many erroneous opinions on the subject now afloat.

^c *Acta SS. Hibn.*, tom. i., p. 458, col. b. On the

south-eastern shoulder of Slieve Bloom, not far from the spot where the road to Seir-Kieran branches off the great Limerick road, the peasantry point out an irregular enclosure, somewhat less than an acre in extent, as St. Kieran's Park, and they tell you that the saint in the first instance pitched on this spot as the site of his cell, and proceeded so far as to enclose the area with a wall; but, having been disgusted by the thievish propensities of the *women* of the neighbourhood, he migrated to Saighir, and there settled. The occupier of the land in 1846 (then an old man) stated to us that he remembered St. Kieran's Park to have been surrounded by a wall built of rough blocks of stone, of great size, piled on each other: these stones, with the exception of some still remaining on the south-east side, had been sold to Mr. Birch of Roscrea, and removed for building purposes. A fine translucent spring gushes out from the hill side, nearly in the centre of the area already described, and is called St. Kieran's Well. It is easily seen how important a spring well would be, nay, how indispensable to one who, like Kieran, had fixed his residence where "eremus lata, densa siluis per circuitum erat" (*Acta SS.*): and no less necessary was it to the monastic and collegiate communities, wherever established. We know that St. Patrick not only instructed his followers as to the fashion of their churches, but also consi-

terials,—its walls of wicker-work, its roof of dried grass^a. For a time the saint's sole companions were the wild animals, many of which he appears to have tamed^b; and, except for their presence, he there lived as a solitary dweller *in eremo*. But his disciples discovered the place of his retreat, and soon the wicker hut grew into a famous monastery, and subsequently an ecclesiastical "civitas" gathered round the walls of his church^c. Not long after the establishment of the monastery, Dymma, Chief of the neighbouring territory of Ui Fiachach^d, threatened to expel the saint, but, according to the legend, was miraculously restrained.

Ussher, *De Brit. Eccl. Primord.*, p. 1091.

AA. SS. Hibern., tom. i., p. 459, col. b.

The two Lives of St. Kieran, printed by Colgan, throw some light on the

dered a spring of such importance, that the compilers of his Acta frequently represent him as working a miracle in order to supply that necessary adjunct. In the Tripartite Life the church of Oran, in the county of Roscommon, is stated to have been thus favoured; and from the copious well which burst forth at the saint's bidding, the name Oran or Huaran was derived. It is not, therefore, at all necessary to suppose that St. Patrick, in his injunction to Kieran, meant to denote any particular well, but merely to indicate, as the site of the future monastery, the neighbourhood of a spring about the centre of Ireland. St. Kieran's Park is distant from Seir-Kieran about eight miles in an easterly direction.

^a This may be gathered from the First Life of Kieran. A wild boar, which has been miraculously tamed, provides for the saint "virgas et fenum ad materiam cellæ construendæ."—*Acta SS. Hibern.*, tom. i., p. 458, col. b.

^b Kieran appears to have had a peculiar fondness for the lower animals. See his First Life, *passim*.

^c Postea sui discipuli et alij plures ad S. Kieranū in ipso loco conuenerunt vndique, & ibi inceptum est clarum Monasterium. — Et postea ciuitas creuit Dei dono per gratiam S. Kierani; quæ omnia vocantur uno nomine Sayghir.—*Acta*

SS. Hibern., tom. i., pp. 458, col. b; 459, col. a. St. Kieran is said, in both the Lives published by Colgan, to have converted his mother Liadhaine to the Christian faith, and to have erected a cell for her in the neighbourhood of Saighir:—"Mater S. Kierani veniat ad eum, quæ à filio suo fidelis Christiana & sancta Dei famula effecta est; & ædificauit S. Kieranus Sanctę matri suæ Liadaniæ, cellam in propinquo loco seorsim, & sanctas virgines congregauit ad eam inibi."—*Id.*, p. 459, col. a, where a curious story is told about one of St. Liadhaine's nuns, named Bruinecha, and Dymma, Chief of Ui-Fiachcach. Colgan identifies St. Liadhaine's nunnery with Kill-Liadhaine, now Killyon (Liadhaine is pronounced Leeán), situate between Saighir and Birr, in the barony of Fircal, King's County; and says that she was commemorated on the 15th of August. (*Id.*, p. 464, col. a, n.). There are no remains of the primitive convent of St. Liadhaine now existing; fragments of the walls of a more modern erection were, however, standing there in 1846. For a notice of Killyon, and some curious discoveries made there, see *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. i., p. 215.

^d Cinel Fiachach extended from Birr, in the neighbourhood of Saighir, to the hill of Uisneach in Westmeath.—*Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 166, n. °.

economy of the monastery at Saighir at an early period ; probably affording us an incidental portraiture of the community, contemporary with the writer's era.

A.A. SS. Hibn.,
tom. i., p. 459,
col. b.

Idem, p. 462,
col. a.

Idem, 1^a Vita,
passim.

Idem, p. 458,
col. b.

Idem, p. 462,
col. b.
Festilogium, 5^o
Martii, apud
Colgan, tom. i.,
p. 470, col. b.

Act. SS. Hibn.,
tom. i., pp. 463,
col. a; 467, n.

Idem, pp. 460,
col. b; 463,
col. a.

For example, we learn that subordinate to the abbot was the præpositus, who attended to the temporal concerns of the community. We read also of a cellarer, who busied himself with the entertainment of the guests. The monastery was rich in swine, sheep, milch kine, and draught oxen for the plough. There were also fifty draught horses employed in tillage, and the community possessed a building for the rearing of calves, which had ten doors and ten separate stalls^a. In the treasury of the monastery was a miraculous bell, bestowed by St. Patrick on Kieran, and which the Apostle of Ireland had prophesied should remain mute until the latter arrived at the place designated as the site of his future monastery^b. This bell, which was called "Bardan Kierani" ("fortè," observes Colgan, "*Bodhran*, i. e. *mutum*"), had been made under the inspection of Germanus, the Gallican instructor of St. Patrick: it was extant, and held in high veneration at Saighir, when the First Life of Kieran was composed; it was also universally honoured throughout Ossory, being carried to the treaties of princes, sworn on for the defence of the poor, and used to sanction the collection of the tribute due to the monastery by the people of Ossory. The paschal fire, according to the practice of the Eastern Church, was lighted every Easter, and kept burning in the church during the entire year. So numerous a company of disciples gathered round Kieran at Saighir that Aengus terms the saint "Kieranum populosum;" some of these he ordained priests; others he raised to the episcopate; on others he conferred the minor orders of the Church. Residing at Saighir with the clergy which he had thus gathered round him, he had there his "cathedra;" and the people of Ossory having by his instrumentality been converted to Christianity, that region was his "parochia." The

^a The scholiast (Maguire) on the *Festilogium* of Aengus, at the 5th of March, is thus translated by Colgan:—"Fuit etiam vir valdè locuples in armentorum possessionibus. Domus eius armentaria siue bouile decē habebat portas & decem particularia reclusoria: in singulis erant decem vituli: & singulos vitulos decem alebant vaccæ. — Habebat etiam equos iugales quinquaginta pro aratro & agricultura."—*Acta SS.*

Hibn., tom. i., p. 471, col. a.

^b The fame of this miracle is still traditionally handed down amongst the peasantry of Seir-Kieran, who point to Bell Hill, a townland in the immediate neighbourhood, lying to the north of the church, and Bell Bush (a ragged white-thorn growing thereon) as marking the place and even the very spot where the *Bardan Kierani* regained its voice.

hospitality of the community, and their bounty to the poor, were on a large scale. On one occasion, when St. Patrick, accompanied by Aengus, King of Munster, and a numerous retinue of chiefs, visited St. Kieran at Saighir, eight oxen, together with a proportionate quantity of the best wine, were provided for their entertainment. At another time the entire army of Ailill, King of Cashel, which encamped near the monastery, was supplied with food^a.

The cemetery of St. Kieran's monastery at Saighir came at an early date to be esteemed of peculiar sanctity; for the saint, in answer to one of his three last prayers, is said by the legends to have obtained for it the privilege that the gates of hell should not, after the judgment day, be closed upon those who were buried near his "cathedra." Dymma, Prince of Ui-Fiachach, after his repentance and reconciliation with St. Kieran, ordered that his posterity should be there interred^b. And, from a passage in Keating's History of Ireland, it appears to have been also the burial-place of the kings of Ossory. The cemetery of Saighir was, probably, at first enclosed by the customary earthen rampart or stone cashel^c; but be that as it may, there was no trace of cashel or of rampart

^a *Acta SS. Hibn.*, tom. i., p. 461, col. a. The miraculous agency introduced, on the most trivial occasions, all through the legends of our Irish saints, is allowed to be fictitious by Dr. Lanigan, Alban Butler, and every Roman Catholic writer who has touched on the subject. But, granting all this, no nation in Europe can produce such a mass of curious matter, containing so much historical and topographical information of extreme antiquity, interspersed though it be with a set of legends of the wildest extravagance. Our Irish hagiology is the work of men who loved home associations, and who borrowed little or nothing from the cold matter-of-fact tone of the Continental school.

^b *Acta SS. Hibn.*, tom. i., p. 459, col. b. There were rights of considerable importance accruing to the church or monastery from the participators in the privilege of sepulture within the ceteries. "Omne corpus," say the ancient Irish canons printed by D'Achery, "habet in jure suo vaccam, et equum, et vestimentum; et orna-

tum lecti sui: nec quicquam horum redditur in alia debita; quia corpori ejus tanquam verna-cula debentur."—*Spicilegium*, Paris, 1723, tom. i., p. 496, col. a. Whilst burial in the paternal sepulchre was also strictly enjoined: "Maledictus omnis homo qui non sepelitur in sepulcro patrum suorum."—*Idem*, p. 495, col. b. D'Achery attributes these canons to the eighth century.

^c Sometimes these *septa* were constructed solely of earth; Beacan, the founder of the church of Kill Beacan in Muskry-Cuiric, was digging with great labour a ditch to surround his churchyard, when Diarmuid, King of Ireland, visited him by the advice of St. Columbkille. —Keating's *History of Ireland*, book ii., p. 23, ed. 1723. They were also frequently built with an external facing of stones to the earthen rampart; it was thus St. Cuthbert, an Irish ecclesiastic, enclosed his monastery on the island of Farne, "quem videlicet murum, non secto lapide, vel latere et cæmento, sed impolitis prorsus lapidibus et cespite, quem de medio loci fodiendo tulerat,

Acta SS. Hibn., tom. i., p. 460, col. b.

Idem, p. 463, col. a.

See p. 8, note ^b, post.

Four Masters,
vol. i., p. 463.

remaining in the year 917,—perhaps it may have been obliterated when the Danes, issuing from their ships moored in Linn-Rois opposite Ross-na-Ree on the Boyne, wasted Saighir and Birr, in the year 842^a. Geoffrey Keating, in a passage omitted by his English translator, who was, probably, ashamed of the wildly fabulous strain which pervades it, relates that Sadbh, daughter of Donnchadh, the son of Kellagh, Lord of Ossory, grieved that Saighir, the burial-place of her ancestors, lay open and defenceless, whilst so many famous churches in Ireland were encircled by walls, induced her husband, Donnchadh, son of Flann Sinna, monarch of Ireland, to assemble a large number of masons from Meath, and erect a suitable wall of stone around the cemetery^b.

composit. E quibus quidam tantæ erant granditatis ut vix a quatuor viris viderentur potuisse levari.”—*Bedæ Opera Historica*, edited by Stevenson for the English Historical Society, tom. ii., p. 84, Vita S. Cudbercti. In many instances the church or monastery was surrounded by one or more stone walls, or cashels; Flaherty O’Broilaghan (Flaithbheartach O’Broilchain) erected a cashel round the churches of Derry, and pronounced a curse on any one who should come over it.—*Four Masters*, vol. ii., p. 1147, A.D. 1162; *Trias Thaum.*, p. 505. These *septa* differed little from the military erections of the ancient Irish, and in fact were similarly designated, Rath, Lis, Cathair, Cashel, or Dun, according to the varieties of their form and construction. But, beside the idea of security, that of seclusion also entered into their plan. Cuthbert’s *septum* was so built that he could only behold the heavens from within it: the external face of the wall being only about the height of a man, whereas internally the area was sunk in the rock to a much greater depth, and this was done purposely, “ad cohibendam oculorum simul et cogitatum lasciviam, ad erigendam in superna desideria totam mentis intentionem.”—*Bedæ Opera*, ut supra. These enclosures were recognised by the ancient Irish Canons:—“Qui occiderit hominem intra septa monasterii exul cum dam-

natione exeat,” &c.—*Spelmani Concilia*, Lond. 1639, tom. i., p. 266. In the *Reformatio Ecclesiastica Ludovici Pii*, A. D. 816, the “claustra canonicorum” are ordered to be surrounded “firmis undique munitioibus,” to preclude entry except by the gate. *Collectio Constitut. Imperial. Melchioris Goldasti*, tom., iii., p. 211; see also this subject fully treated by Dr. Petrie, *Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland*, pp. 440–447. Saighir seems to have had two *septa*, an internal cashel of stone, and an external rath, formed of earth faced with stones.

^a The *Four Masters* place this event in the year 841, but the true date is 842. Archdall, *Monast. Hibn.*, p. 405, not being aware of the variation in the chronology of the authorities he quotes, makes three burnings and plunderings of one, placing them under the years 839, 841, and 842, respectively. Neither can his notices of Disert-Kieran, under the years 855 and 951, refer to Saighir: Disert-Kieran, now called Castlekieran, is situate in the County Meath, on the Blackwater, two miles from Kells. See *Four Mast.*, vol. i., pp. 374, n.°, 489, 513; vol. ii., p. 665.

^b The following curious account of the transaction has been kindly transcribed for this work by John O’Donovan, Esq., LL. D., from a Latin version of Keating’s History of Ireland, made by Dr. John Lynch, the author of *Cambrensis*

Notwithstanding, however, this mark of royal favour, the monastery seems to have gradually fallen into decay: our annals, which afford us a

Eversus. It is not given in the printed English translations of Keating, having been, probably, considered too fabulous; the accessories do not, however, invalidate the fact of the erection of the *septum* by the persons, and at the time, indicated. The passage is not to be found in any copy of Keating, except that made by John, son of Torna O'Mulconry, in Keating's own time, and now deposited in the manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin (H. 5. 26, p. 149). O'Mulconry's copy is, however, high authority (being exceeded only by Keating's autograph, which is believed to be preserved at St. Isidore's, Rome), and in this instance it is supported by the Genealogical Work of Duaid Mac Firbis, of which the original is in Lord Roden's possession, and a transcript in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The publication of O'Mulconry's transcript, interpaged with Lynch's version, would confer a great boon on the student of Irish history:—

“A.D. 917. Ad Regni postea gubernacula admotus est Donatus Flanni Sinnei, et Gormlathæ filiæ Flanni neptis Conungi filius; qui uxorem habuit Sabam Donati filij Calachi, Osiriæ Reguli filiam, cujus flagitationibus sollicitatus, Saigriam Kierani muro cinxit. Illa enim ægerimè tulit clarissimas quasque Hiberniæ Ecclesiæ muris ambiri, illam vero in quâ majores sui sepulchro mandabantur, eo sive munimento, sive ornamento, carere. Opificum igitur Midæ professorum, multitudine, operi peragendo jam admotâ, Sabæ Reginæ patrem e vivis excedere contigit: qui postquam tumulo illatus fuit, vespertinis tenebris jam inchoantibus, novem spectra sepulchro insedentia, oculis et dentibus nivem candore, cæteris artubus carbonem nigredine superantibus, sequens carmen Hibernicum, Ossiriæ Regulo dictum bombilabantes efferebant:—

“Mumceṛ Donncaib ṛóir meic Ceallaig, &c., *id est.*

“Turba frequentabat, Donate create Kelacho,
Nobilium vestram crebris accessibus aulam,
Quæ quoque voce chori modulantis dulciter hymnos
Personuit nobis immistis sæpe catervæ.
Illum per latos stipabant per agmina campos
Insectata feras: hæc tecta subindè subibant
Ad commiscendum formosis culta puellis,
Magnificis satrapis multoque decora decore
Clamorem miles, cantum chorus addidit altum,
Fidaque cinxerunt semper latus agmina Regis,
Quæ satiata epulis fremuerunt murmure læto,
Oraque gestarunt hilari suffusa rubore.
Tum sol æstivos ut fudit ubique calores,
Hæ vario cursu lassarunt arva cohortes,
Eximijque Lyræ crepuère per atria Regis,
Et permulserunt gratis concentibus aures,
Atque animi curas subduxit fabula vatium,
Qui multo et cultu cecinere poemate laudes
Fœlicis Raniæ Regis, sumptique laboris
Larga recedentes retulerunt præmia læti.
O soboles magno Raniæ de Rege creata
Dic ubi crateres auro argentoque rigentes,
Dic ubi sunt extincti patris honores?
Quod tot cantores habuit comitumque catervas,
Gloria magna fuit, vitæ illi fata tenorem
Fœlicem dederant, fuerat dum vita superstes
Baptismo dudum lotus migravit ad astra
Nuper, et ad meritos, dum vitam duxit, honores
Nos illi fuimus, mansit dum vita, ministri:
Sed voces nostras jam quilibet auribus hausit.”

“Tam horribili autem specie fuerunt hæc spectra, ut qui obtutum in ea figebant, e terrore maximo, vigintisaltem et quatuor horarum morbo efficerentur. Singulis autem noctibus ad eundem tumultum illa carmina susurro proferebant, ita ut Ecclesiasticis et Laicis non mediocri admirationi fuerit, cur viri tumultus, qui summè pietatem coluit, a Dæmonibus eo pacto frequentaretur. Nonnulla pietatis ejus exercitia huc produco. Animi etenim sordes per confessionem crebrò eluere, sacraque synaxi se quam sæpissimè munire consuevit: Apostolorum vigilijs,

C*

numerous list of the obits of its bishops, abbots, and learned men, reaching down to the close of the eleventh century, cease, for several hundred years from that period, to notice Seir-Kieran. It is recorded, that the monastery was plundered

in primæ notæ per Ossiriam Ecclesijs stipem egenis largiorem conferre; in amicorum ædibus per totam Ossiriam, vel parentibus orbem aliquem, vel paupertate laborantem enutrire, solitus erat. In singulis etiam Ossiriæ domibus tres coriasios saculos haberi curavit, in quorum uno decimam edulij sui partem singuli recondebant: alter stipem pauperibus assignatum Hibernicè *mip michil*, id est, portio Michaelis, asservabat: Postremò micæ et reliquiæ, matrefamilias potissimum sollicitante, committebantur. Sed et unde digressus sum eo me recipiam. Clerus precibus et jejuniis triduanis sedulò incubuit ut rei misterium mereretur accipere. Tandem uni ex illis e Dalfiachorum stirpe, Angelus se videndum præbuit, dicens: magno vobis adjumento fuit, quod jejuniis præcationes adjunxeritis, spectra illa novem e clero [*recte é sodalitis poetico*] Congeodensi, qui tertio jam e tartaro Hiberniam ingressi, cum Ossiriæ Regi vivo molestiam creare non poterant, ejus extincti tumulum infestant: vos autem crastinâ die sacrum facite, et tumulum ac cæmeterium lustralis aquæ aspersione irrorate: hâc enim Dæmones facilè abiguntur. Ecclesiasticis igitur ministeria ab Angelo indicta obeuntibus, Lemures, nigras aves ementiti, sublimes in æra supervolitant, cæmeterium aut tumulum attingere divinitus prohibiti, horrendo etiam stridore clangentes, jejunijs, illos præcationibusque cæmeterij tumulique sacrationem acceptam referre debere, quodque ipsi tumulo Ossiriæ Reguli amplius non officient, alioquin a tumultu et tumulo officiendo nunquam se recessuros fuisse: quandoquidem ejus animæ cælo jam illatæ officere non potuerunt. Hæc ubi effutiverant, ab omnium conspectu sublatis, amplius non comparuerunt. Porro superiores versus dum a spectris

perstreperentur, memoriæ mandarunt Crossanus Candidus O'Kingus et Macriomtachus O'Conoranus, qui ejusmodi carminum generi pangendo, toto postea vitæ decursu se totos addixerunt: Carmen autem illud Hibernicè *Crossan*, Latine *obliquum* dicitur, quod ex pugnantibus inter se sententijs plerumque conflare solet."

"The *Crossans*," observes Dr. O'Donovan, "were poets, whose principal office was to compose funeral dirges or family panegyrics, but who frequently degenerated into satirists, like the modern *keeners*. From this order of poets the family of Mac-I-Crossan, now Crosby, in Ulster and Leinster, is sprung. It is a curious fact that the celebrated family of Glandore was of the Leinster bards of this name: for it appears from a letter in the State Papers Office, London, dated December 2nd, 1601, in the handwriting of the then aged Earl of Ormonde, that the first of this family was an Irishman from Leix, and the son of Mac-I-Crossan, O'More's bard. The Earl tells his history, and complains that he became 'very insolent' when he got into power. See *Tribes of Ireland*, by Aenghus O'Daly, edited by J. O'Donovan, LL. D., p. 25. The story is also curious for the reference to *cléip Uí Coirgeoð*, *O'Congeo's* band of poets, to whom I have seen no other reference. O'Congeo must have been some satirical Crossan whose followers were believed to have all gone to the lower regions. It appears to me further, that this story was penned at a very early period, to flatter the royal family of Ossory, and to bring the order of poets called *Crossans* into disrepute, for the Crossan Finn O'King, and his contemporary O'Conoran, are said to have committed to memory, and afterwards imitated, the song of the demons."—*Original Letter*, penes auct.

by the people of Munster thirty-five years after the piety of Donchadh's consort procured its enclosure: but the only other notice afforded by the annals is the burning of the monastery by O'Carrol and the English in the year 1548. According to Ware, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine were introduced into Seir-Kieran; he does not supply the date, but it was probably about the middle of the twelfth century, when that order found entrance into the greater part of the Irish monastic houses. The priory of Seir-Kieran does not appear to have recovered from the devastation inflicted by O'Carrol and the English ere the general suppression of monastic houses supervened some twenty years later, as the Inquisition^a on the surrender, taken at the neighbouring castle of The Leap, speaks of the walls of what had lately been the church, and, alluding to its prostrate condition, states that a large stone building, thatched with straw, was then used as the parish church, whilst two other thatched houses served the canons for their place of residence. The precinct of the priory was found to comprise one acre, thus identifying it with the present churchyard. The rectory of Seir-Kieran, valued at forty shillings^b, was impropriate in the canons; as was also

A. D. 952.
Four Masters,
vol. ii., p. 671.

Idem, vol. v.,
p. 1511.

Monast. Hibn.,
p. xvii.

^a A transcript of this Inquisition, so far as it relates to Seir-Kieran, is here subjoined, as Archdall does not give a very clear summary of its contents. The dissolved Religious Houses to which it also relates are "de Insula Vivencium," and "Roscre in Ealy." This Inquisition is at present preserved in the Chief Remembrancer's Office, Dublin, and was held on the 28th of December, 1568, "apud Lemyvanane in Ely sub gubernacione O'Kerroll," before Michael Fitz-Williams, Esquire, and Francis Delahyde, Gentleman, commissioners appointed by the Queen: the jury find, with regard to Seir-Kieran, "qd prioratus canonicorū nōiatu prioratu sēti Kerani, alias prioratu de Shyre Kerane in Ely p̄d, spect' ad dñam Reginā racioē dci pliamenti, & qd scitus dicti prioratus continet unā acra in qua sunt mura lapid' dudū ecclie dict' prioratus, una turris parva, una magna dom' lapid' strāie tecta que dom' modo est ecclia pochialis ut ecclia p̄d pstrata fuit, t̄ ii. alie domus strāie tecte ubi ca-

nonici habitaverunt que valent p annū ultra repacioe iii^s. iiij^d. Et dicunt qd viii de shyre pti-nebat ad dict' prioratū, t̄ modo ad dñam Reginam in qua sunt vi. cottag', t̄ in campis ejusd sunt xl. acre terre arr' t̄ pastur' valentes p ann' vi^s. viii^d. Et dicunt qd Rector' de Shyre alias Shyrekerane spect' ad dict' dudū prioratū, t̄ modo ad dñam Reginā, unde decime cū alteragiis valent p ann' ultra stipend' curatoris 'tc'. xl^s. 'tc'." Archdall gives the 27th of December as the date of this inquisition.—*Monasticon*, p. 406. Lemyveenane, i. e. Lám-i-bánáin, O'Banan's Leap, now Leap Castle, and the seat of the Darby family, is situate between Seir-Kieran and Roscrea. It was one of O'Carroll's chief fortresses: "there was scarcely any castle at that period (1516) better fortified and defended."—*Four Masters*, vol. v., p. 1337, and n.

^b The composition for the vicarial tithes in 1832 was £78 7s. 9d., from which twenty-five per cent. must now be deducted.

Rot. Pat.,
1^o Jac. I., m. x.,
No. 15, facie.

Monast. Hibn.,
p. 406.

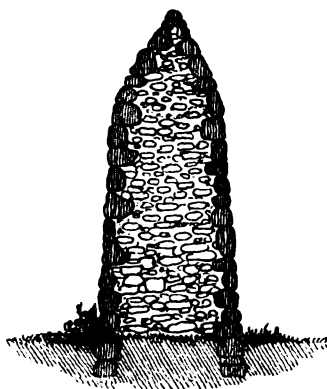
the *villa* or townland of Seir-Kieran, forty-one acres in extent, on which then stood six cottages. Queen Elizabeth, on the 3rd of August, 1578, demised, for twenty-one years, at a rent of five pounds Irish, per annum, to Sir William O'Carroll, this priory, with its site, precinct, and possessions in land and tithes. In 1586, Sir Luke Dillon, Knight, Privy Councillor, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, obtained from the Crown a lease of the premises for sixty years, after the expiration of the first-mentioned term; and on the 9th of January, 1604, Captain, afterwards Sir William, Taafe, was, by James I., granted the property, to hold *in capite* by the twentieth part of a knight's fee; and by him, according to Archdall, it was subsequently assigned over to James Earl of Roscommon.

The circuit of the ecclesiastical "civitas" may yet be traced with tolerable exactness. It apparently embraced an area of about ten acres in extent, enclosed by a fosse and double rampart of earth. On the north side these defences are tolerably perfect; they are in good preservation also towards the south-west, where the inner rampart is still of considerable height, and strengthened by an external facing of stone; and the south-western angle is defended by a lofty earthen fort or tumulus. The principal entrance seems to have been placed at the north side, and another gate may be traced in the southern rampart. The entire area slopes with an eastern exposure down to a small stream, and its upper portion is very much intersected by earthworks, many of them running at right angles to each other, and presenting the appearance of streets*. The present churchyard lies nearly central in the larger area, but nearer the upper or western side: it contains about one acre, and is clearly the original precinct of the monastery: its boundary wall is, for the most part, extremely ancient, and may, with great probability, be assumed to retain some portions of the

* These remains indicate the existence here at some period of one of those *cænobia* where a vast number of monks lived in separate cells, ranged in streets around the principal church. See *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 422. In the demesne of Oakley, on the opposite side of the public road, may be seen another intrenchment of irregular form, enclosing about two

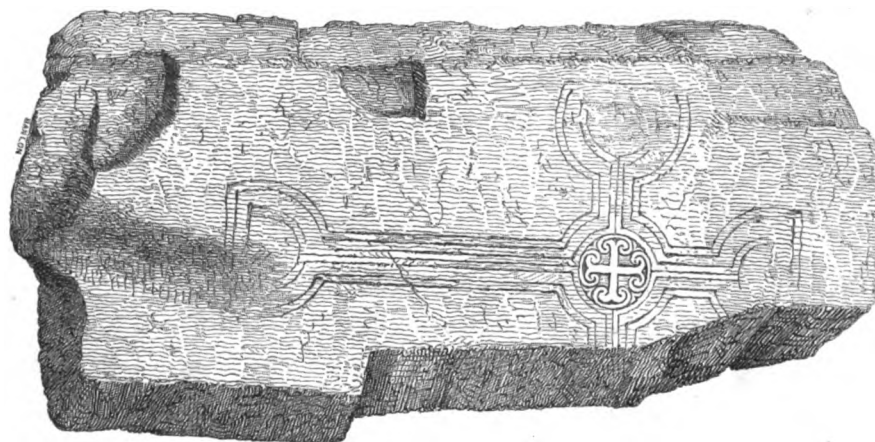
acres, which seems to have been also connected with the monastery. At some distance south-east of the church, St. Kieran's well is shown, beneath an old ash tree; there is nothing remarkable about it. On Bell Hill, in the townland of the same name, there is an old whitethorn called Bell Bush, which tradition points to as occupying the spot where the saint's bell found its voice, as alluded to at p. 6, n. ^b, *ante*.

septum erected early in the tenth century, at the instance of the Queen of Donnchadh, monarch of Ireland, as related in the curious extract from Keating, already quoted (page 8, *n. b*). The accompanying diagram will give some idea of its peculiar construction. Both faces batter inwards several inches, and it will be seen that the slope of the coping is not equiangular, the internal face being the most upright. The character of the masonry is best seen at the south side, where a considerable portion of the ancient wall still remains perfect. The work exhibits one or two well-defined courses, composed of large boulder stones, apparently dressed but on one surface, fitted carefully together, and spawled; the centre is compacted of small stones, grouted with mortar of extreme hardness.



No. 1.

The granite base of an early cross, and four examples of ancient tombstones, also occur in the churchyard; two of the latter (one of which is here figured)



No. 2.

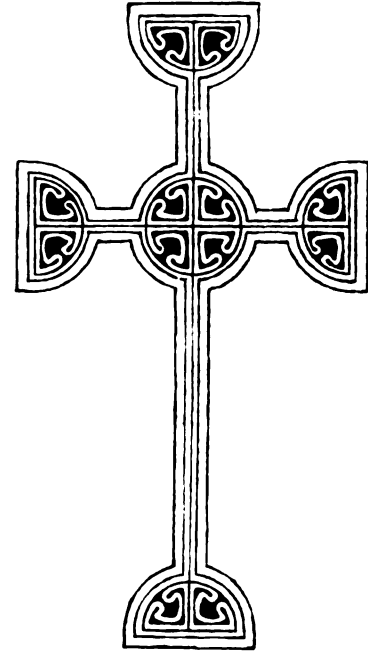
exhibit the graceful incised cross peculiar to Ireland, and to those portions of England and Scotland evangelized by Irish ecclesiastics. The diagram given in the next page represents the restored outline of a very elegant cross incised on another slab: and the commencement of an ancient Irish inscription, $\bar{O} \text{? } \bar{O} \bar{O}$, are barely legible on the third. It is highly probable that the

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sward of the burial-ground conceals several monumental slabs of a similar age and character, which, should they ever come to light, may serve further to illustrate the scanty annals of Seir-Kieran.

A few sculptured stones, which may have formed portions of a church contemporary with the ancient *septum*, or, at latest, erected in the eleventh century, lie scattered about the cemetery. One is the vousoir of a door-arch, carved with a bold three-quarter round moulding; another presents traces, in relief, of a cross within a circle, like that sculptured over the early square-headed doorway of Fore Abbey^a. The parish church, lately rebuilt by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland, preserves in its east window some remains of an earlier fabric; the details, though transitional in character, may be referred to the close of the Early English period of Gothic architecture; the engaged angle shafts and capitals are especially worthy of attention. No trace of a Round Tower is now discoverable, did such an appendage to the monastery ever exist; but a small stone-roofed turret (no doubt the "turrus parva" of the Inquisition), still extant in the cemetery, has been gravely set down by an anonymous writer as the depository of the sacred fire! A cursory inspection serves to show that the date of this structure is, comparatively speaking, very modern—the existence of a tier of shot-holes proving it to have been erected after the introduction of firearms.

AGHABO^b.—Having brought our brief notice of Seir-Kieran down to the present day, it will be necessary to revert to the sixth century of the Christian era, when the monastic house, which ultimately became, in the modern sense of



No. 3.

Dublin Penny Journ., 1834-5, p. 114.

^a See this doorway figured by Dr. Petrie, in his *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 171.

^b *Uchab bo, Martyrology of Aengus*, Gloss, Oct. 11; *Achad bou, latine campulus bovis, Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, Tr. Thaum.*,

the word, for a short period, the cathedral of the diocese of Ossory, was founded, and began to supplant, in the estimation of the tribes of the district, the earlier establishment of St. Kieran.

The first order of Irish saints, the contemporaries of Patrick and Kieran of Saighir, had now passed away^a. They were for the most part bishops, ordained in great numbers in order to supply the wants of an infant Church, and promote the effectual preaching of Christianity to the heathen Irish; and they lived collegiately with their inferior clergy, "caput Christum, et unum ducem Patricium habentes." But although thus conforming to the rule given them by the Apostle of the Irish, they were not, strictly speaking, monks^b, being rather the predecessors, *de facto*, of the secular clergy, and engaged in the active duties of the Church. In process of time, however, when the Irish people had generally embraced Christianity, and the influence of the then prevailing mystic theology came to be felt amongst them, monachism, in its most rigid form, made rapid progress in the Irish Church: the simplicity of the primitive rule was departed from, many new ones introduced, and greater strictness affected. During this period, the commencement of which may be placed about the year 542, flourished the second order of Irish saints^c, many of whom, although but simple presbyters, rose in estimation above the episcopal order, and even, as in the

p. 353, col. a; Uchað b6 Chandiġ, *Four Masters*, A. D. 1116; Aghabo, *modern usage*.

^a "Primus ordo catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant Episcopi omnes clari & sancti & spiritu sancto pleni CCCL. numero, Ecclesiarum fundatores. Unum caput Christum, & unum ducem Patricium habebant: unam Missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsuram (ab aure usque ad aurem) sufferebant. Unum Pascha, xiv. Lunâ post æquinoctium vernali, celebrabant: & quod excommunicatum esset ab unâ Ecclesiâ omnes excommunicabant. Mulierum administrationem & consortia non respuebant: quia super Petram Christum fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant. Hic ordo Sanctorum per *quaterna* duravit regna, hoc est, pro tempore *Laogarij. & Aila Muilt, & Lugada filio Laogarii, & Tuathail*. Hi omnes Episcopi

de Romanis, & Francis, & Britonibus, & Scotis exorti sunt."—*De Britan. Eccl. Primord.*, p. 913, ed. 1623.

^b St. Kieran, although an ascetic, was not a monk. For the difference between ascetics and monks, see Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, b. vii., c. i., sections 1-5.

^c "Secundus ordo catholicorum Presbyterorum. In hoc enim ordine pauci erant Episcopi, & multi Presbyteri, numero CCC. Unum caput Dominum nostrum habebant, diversas Missas celebrabant & diversas Regulas, unum Pascha quartadecimâ Lunâ, unam tonsuram ab aure ab aurem: abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas à Monasteriis. Hic ordo per *quaterna* adhuc regna duravit, hoc est ab extremis *Tuathail*, et per totum *Diarmata* Regis regnum, et duorum *Muredaig* nepotum, et *Ædo* filii *Ain-*

case of Columbkille, acquired jurisdiction over the bishops in the districts where they were venerated^a.

On the model of St. Columbkille's foundation at Iona, Canice (Cainneach), the intimate friend of the Apostle of the Picts, and one of the most illustrious amongst the second order of saints, seems to have framed his monastery at Aghabo. The precise date is not supplied either by the early life of St. Canice, preserved in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin^b, or by Colgan's valuable folios. From the pages of the latter may, indeed, be gathered some data which render it highly probable that the monastery of Aghabo was not founded before the year 558, and that it was in existence before 577^c. We learn, however, from the life of the saint already referred to, that between Colman the son of Fearaide, "dux regionis Osraide," Chief of Ossory, and St. Canice an intimate friendship existed, and that Colman bestowed on the latter many townlands (villas), whereon St. Canice erected monasteries, and amongst them his "civitas" of Aghabo^d. Seated amidst some of the richest pasture lands in Ireland—lands which retain their proverbial fertility to the present day^e—the name *Achað bo*,

merech — — Quorum nomina hæc sunt. Duo *Finiani* — — *Cainecus*," &c.—*De Britan. Eccl. Primord.*, p. 914.

^a "Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus, sed presbyter extitit et monachus."—Bede's *Historia Eccl. Gentis. Ang.*, lib. iii., cap. iv., § 160.

^b The Life of Canice, in the Burgundian Library, Brussels, printed by the late Marquis of Ormonde, is equally vague as to dates.

^c This would appear from the following considerations. St. Canice is styled the founder of a monastery when he accompanied SS. Comgall, Brendan, and Cormac (of whom the same statement is made) to visit St. Columba at Hy: "Quatuor ex Hiberniæ illo ævo præcipuis Sanctis, Venerabiles Patres & Monasteriorum fundatores, Comgellus scilicet Abbas Benchorensis, Cannechus Abb. Achadhboensis, Brendanus Abbas

Cluainfertensis, & Cormacus OLiethain Abbas Darmagensis vnà ex Hiberniâ profecti in Ionam Insulam veniunt ad S. Columbam inuisendum."—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 428, col. *b*. See also p. 367, col. *b*, where Adamnan places this visit to Columba at Hinba or Himba, an island which has not as yet been identified. Dr. Lannigan (*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 66) proves that Bangor could not have been founded before the year 558, and Brendan of Clonfert died in the year 577 (*Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 209). Dr. Lannigan (vol. ii., p. 38) places this visit after the year 563, probably because 564 is the latest date assigned to the foundation of Brendan's monastery at Clonfert.—*Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 190, *n.* ^m.

^d "Colmanus filius fearaide dux regionis osraide sancto cainnico amicus erat. et ipse multas villas dedit ei, in quibus sanctus Cainnicus edificavit monasteria et civitate."—*Vita Cainnechi*, cap. xxxviii., MS., Marsh's Library.

^e The grass lands which surround the site of

Ager boum, is graphically descriptive of the situation of the monastery. Aghabo lies in the north-eastern angle of the parish of the same name, in the barony of Clarmallagh^a, and Queen's County.

The *Acta* of Canice afford little or no information as to the internal polity of his monastery at Aghabo; but the conjecture, already hazarded, that it followed the rule of Columbkille, derives much force from the intimacy known to have existed between these eminent ecclesiastics, taken in connexion with the prominent position assumed by this community amongst the Ossorians^b at a period when Scanlan their Prince was under great obligations to St. Columbkille. As to its subsequent history, our information, apart from the obits of its bishops, abbots, and learned men^c, is very scanty; but the silence of our ancient annalists on a point which naturally assumed a prominent position in their brief chronicles, renders it extremely probable that Aghabo enjoyed an unwonted exemption from violence for three centuries and a half after its foundation; having been, apparently for the first time, in the year 913, plundered by the "Strangers," of whom a fresh horde had about that period entered the estuary of the Nore, Suir, and Barrow, then known as Loch-Dachaech^d. Somewhat more than a century afterwards, when the country had recovered from the ravages of the Northmen, and ecclesiastical architecture had received a renewed impetus, A. D. 1052, the church of the monastery was rebuilt, and the shrine of

the monastery of Aghabo are well known as amongst the richest pastures in Ireland. That portion of them locally termed the "bullock park" (*campulus bovum*) will fatten a bullock and a sheep per acre, or produce perpetual meadowing without sensible deterioration. It cannot be denied that the founders of our primitive monasteries were excellent judges of land, and it is equally clear that they were the great agriculturists, road-makers, and bridge-builders, of their day. The remains of an ancient causeway, stretching across the bog from the monastery of Aghabo towards Castletown, is traditionally, and without doubt correctly, assigned to the engineering skill of the monks.

^a The Ordnance Survey has erected the cantreds of Clandonagh and Clarmallagh into baro-

nies, thus ignoring the ancient barony of Upper Ossory, which up to that period comprised both.

^b The authorities for this assertion, and a notice of the transactions which took place between St. Columbkille and Scanlan Prince of Ossory, will find their proper place in the early history of the see. The Rev. William Reeves has printed a very curious and early Rule of Columbkille taken from a manuscript preserved in the Burgundian Library, Brussels.—*Primate Colton's Visitation*, p. 109.

^c Their names will be found in the forthcoming history of the see of Ossory.

^d *Four Masters*, vol. ii., p. 585. Archdall makes two plunderings out of one here, and sets down, but erroneously, the second under the year 915. (*Monast. Hib.*, p. 588.)

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Four Masters,
vol. ii., p. 965.

Recte 1107.
Four Masters,
vol. ii., p. 985,
a.

Id., vol. ii.,
p. 1003.

Id., vol. iii.,
p. 273, a.

St. Canice deposited in it^a. O'More, chief of Leix, surnamed Faelan, or the Blind, in consequence of having had his eyes put out in 1041 by Murchadh, son of Dunlaing, entered this monastery, where he died A.D. 1069^b. About the year 1100 Aghabo was a noted place of resort for religious pilgrims. The Annals of Clonmacnoise state the curious fact, that the family or community of Kilkenny, which here must mean the monastic community of St. Canice of Aghabo, gave an overthrow to the community of Leighlin in the year 1106; and in the beginning of Lent, A.D. 1116, the monastery was consumed by fire. In 1234 "the great church of St. Canice of Aghabo," was again rebuilt^c, but in the year 1346 was, together with the shrine and relics of the saint, ruthlessly burned by Diarmid Mac Gillpatrick the One-eyed. Clyn's graphic notice of this outrage is as follows:—

"Item, on Friday the 13th of May, Diarmid Mac Gillpatrick the One-eyed, ever noted for treachery and treasons, making light of perjury, and aided by O'Carroll, burned

^a *Manuscript Annals of Leinster*, quoted by Ware (*Bishops*, p. 398). The passage says "built," but it is quite evident there was a church there long before this period.

^b *Four Masters*, vol. ii., pp. 839, 896, 897. Faelan O'More (son of Aimerгим, the great grandson of Mordha, a quo the O'Mores of Leix) having been taken prisoner by Donnchadh, son of Aedh, was delivered over by him to Murchadh, who, to disqualify him for the chieftainship, put out his eyes. After this cruel mutilation it is most probable that he became a member of the religious community of Aghabo. This barbarous custom was prevalent in France and England as well as in Ireland. When kings or chieftains were deprived of their sight they were rendered unfit to reign, and the next popular candidate was elected. In the year 1018 Bran or Braen, ancestor of the O'Byrnes of Leinster, had his eyes put out, by procurement of Sitrick, the Danish King of Dublin, whereon he retired into the Irish monastery at Cologne, and there died A.D. 1052.—*Four Masters*,

vol. ii., pp. 862, a.; 863.

^c The authority quoted by O'Donovan for this fact is the modern compilation of Irish Annals, made at Paris in 1760, by John Conry for Dr. John O'Brien (see *Book of Rights*, Introd., p. ii.), wherein, *sub anno* 1234, the following passage, evidently much corrupted, is to be found:—"Ceampull mór óille Canóig .i. aghabo do déanamh lé Comharba Ciarán raighe," accompanied by this translation,—“The great church of Kilkenny, i. e. Aghaboe, was built by the successor of St. Ciaran of Saighir, i. e. the Bishop of Ossory.”—*Annals of Innisfallen*, ff. 227, 228, Royal Irish Academy. Dr. O'Donovan is of opinion that the word óille has crept into the text, and that the older Annals will be found to want it; aghabo is an evident error for aghabbo. In the face of so many inaccuracies we can scarcely depend on the assertion that the church was built by the successor of Kieran. Besides, the bishop of the day was at this very period engaged in building the new cathedral at Kilkenny, which renders the statements of the an-

the town of Aghabo, and, venting his parricidal rage against the cemetery the church and the shrine of that most holy man St. Canice the abbot, consumed them, together with the bones and relics, by a most cruel fire”^a.

In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy is preserved a small ancient bronze, representing, in relief, the figure of an ecclesiastic, bearing in the left hand a book, and in the right a short episcopal staff or *cambutta*^b. This antique, here figured to a scale one-half that of the original, was found in the church-yard of Aghabo: it would seem, from the rivet-holes remaining, to have been a portion of the ornamental work of an ancient shrine. Perhaps it is the sole remaining vestige which has survived “the most cruel fire” of the one-eyed Mac Gillpatrick.

The chancel of the monastic church erected in 1234, and which served for parochial purposes in Dr. Ledwich’s day, was demolished about thirty years since to make way for



No. 4.

nalist still more improbable. Archdall asserts that the church had been previously plundered in 1125, but the authorities cited do not support him.—*Monast. Hibn.*, p. 589.

^a “Item, die Veneris iii^o Nonas Maii, Dermicius M^oGilpatrick monoculus, qui semper insidiis et prodicionibus intendere consuevit, perjuriaque parvi pendens villam de Athebo combussit, associato sibi O’Kayrwyll et secum ducto, et in cimiterium et ecclesiam, ac Sancti Cannici abbatis viri sanctissimi, patroni patrie et loci fundatoris, scrinium cum ossamentis et reliquiis ejus igne crudelissimo (tanquam degener filius in patrem) crudeliter deseviens, igne crudelissimo combussit et consumpsit.”—*Annals of Ireland*, by John Clyn, published by the Irish Archæological Society, pp. 32, 33. The Anglo-Norman castle, built, probably, by William Earl Mareschall when he received the villa and cantred of Aghabo from Hugh Rufus Bishop of Ossory, in exchange for lands nearer

Kilkenny, held out but a short time after the monastery was devastated; for we learn from the Irish Exchequer Records, that in January, 1349, and long before that date, “Hibernici les m^c gilpatrickes felones ⁊ inimici domini regis debellaverunt castrum de Aghbo, ⁊ inuaserunt totam patriam adiacentem, depredaciones ulciones et incendia de die in diem faciendo super populum domini regis ibidem.”—*Rot. Memor.*, 28 and 29 Edw. III., m. 16.

^b Mr. Westwood, in a paper on the peculiarities exhibited by the miniatures and ornamentation of ancient Irish illuminated manuscripts, printed in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. vii., p. 19, gives an engraving, copied from a representation of St. Luke, which strikingly resembles the bronze above engraved. The original of Mr. Westwood’s illustration forms one of the illuminations in the Gospels of Mac Durnan, preserved at Lambeth Palace, and is considered by that eminent palæographer to

an unsightly modern structure^a. A plate of the ruins of the abbey, engraved for Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* in the year 1793 (vol. ii. p. 39), shows, in the south wall of the chancel, a pointed arch enriched with the dog-tooth ornament: and a hexagonal turret, the only vestige of the older building now extant, although disfigured by a modern head, affords some indication of the character of the ancient structure, and excites regret that this interesting example of the Early English style should have been so needlessly and ruthlessly destroyed. Ledwich, who was himself vicar of Aghabo, has left on record a good description of the ancient church, to which the reader is referred^b.

Although the history of the Dominican abbey subsequently founded at Aghabo by the Mac Gillpatrick family^c does not come within the scope of the present work, it may be allowable to remark, that the existing remains exhibit some good Flamboyant work in the windows, and that a very beautiful piscina, furnished with a shelf within the niche, still remains in the south wall of the chancel. The windows of the present parish church also are Flamboyant in character, and seem to have been torn from the walls of the abbey.

Aghabo now presents few vestiges of its ancient ecclesiastical importance^d.

form, in conjunction with the Aghabo bronze, and a similar metal casting on the Cumdach, figured by Dr. O'Connor (*Rer. Hibn. Scriptores*, tom. ii., *sub finem*), the earliest known representations of the short pastoral staff used by the Irish prelates.

^a By an entry remaining on the Register of the neighbouring parish of Skeirke, two persons from the parish of Aghabo are recorded to have been married in the parish church of Skeirke, on September, 3rd, 1815, "the church of Aghaboe being in a ruinous state."

^b A choir arch of red grit-stone, external buttresses, richly moulded niches, sedilia, and piscina, and an elaborately ornamented doorway in the south wall, seem to have been the chief characteristics of the remains existing in Dr. Ledwich's day. See Mason's *Parochial Survey of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 37.

^c See Archdall's *Monasticon*, pp. 589, 590.

De Burgo, *Hibn. Dom.*, pp. 297, 298, proves Al-lemand and his follower Harris to have erroneously assigned the thirteenth century as the period of the Dominican foundation, which he shows could not have taken place till the conclusion of the fourteenth century. The latter date agrees perfectly with the style of its architecture.

^d The high road which runs by the monastery is frequently termed by the peasantry the "street of Aghabo," thus affording an instance of the traditional remembrance of the economy of the ancient *cænobium* which, in all probability, consisted of a multitude of separate cells ranged in streets (See Petrie's *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers*, p. 422). Some indication of the ancient importance of the place is also afforded by the fairs, "haud minùs celebres" (De Burgo, *Hibn. Dominicana*, p. 297), held here on August 1st, and the 21st and 22nd of Octo-

The site and appurtenances of the Dominican abbey, together with the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of St. Canice of Aghabo, were, *inter alia*, granted by Elizabeth, in the forty-third year of her reign, to Florence Fitz Patrick, Baron of Upper Ossory. This grant was confirmed by letters patent of the 9th of James I., which state the rectory and vicarage to have formed parcel of the dissolved priory of Innistiogue, in the south of the county of Kilkenny, to which they seem to have passed from some representative or grantee of William Earl Mareschal, with whom, on the translation of the see from Aghabo to Kilkenny, Hugh Rufus, the first Anglo-Norman prelate of Ossory, exchanged the bishop's lands at the former place for others more conveniently situated near his new cathedral, and at the same time received from the Earl Mareschal the advowsons of the churches of St. Mary of Kilkenny and St. Patrick of Donaghmore, in lieu of the church of St. Canice of Aghabo, and the other churches of that neighbourhood^a.

Monast. Hibn.
p. 589.

The rectory of Aghabo at present constitutes a portion of the corps of the Deanery of St. Canice, under which its present value will be found. The perpetual advowson of the vicarage has lately been purchased by the Rev. Thomas Harpur, rector of the union of Maryborough, from the Rev. George Carr, owner in fee of a considerable portion of the abbey lands. The vicarial rent-charge amounts to £197 6s. 2d.; a large glebe, comprising 299A. 1R. 18½P., is also attached to the vicarage.—J. G.

ber. On the two latter, being the vigil and feast of St. Canice, old style, the "patron" of St. Canice, suppressed about 1815, was held.

^a *Liber Albus Ossor.* It appears from another charter extant in this manuscript, that the pa-

rish of St. Patrick of Donaghmore was the present parish of St. Patrick, Kilkenny, which forms a portion of the corps of the Deanery of St. Canice. A townland in the parish still retains the name of Donaghmore.

CHAPTER II.

KILKENNY^a.

THE anonymous author of a tract on the diocese of Ossory^b presents us with so picturesque a description of its cathedral city, and at the same time advances so probable a theory of the origin of the latter, that we are tempted to place before the reader his very words—the rather as they have never before been given to the public, and as they embody our own previously formed views on the subject. The passage alluded to is as follows:—

Albertus Miræus, *Policia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i., c. 52.

“Est itaque ciuitas hæc vulgò nominata Kilkenia quasi fanum siue cella Canici (ut rectè Miræus), quam, nunc ampliata et priuilegiis pluribus ornatam regiis, composita dictione vocare licet Canicopolim. Sita est ad fluuium Fiorium, quem transmittis duplici ponte marmoreo, cum interuallo duorum circiter stadiorum. Porrigitur in longitudine ab Aquilone ad Austrum. In Aquilonari parte prominet Ecclesia Cathedralis ampla et magnifica D. Canico Abbati sacra. In Australi et magis ad Euronotum surgit Castrum seu verius pluribus castris et turribus munitum propugnaculum. Ab ipsis duobus, id est a templo et castro initium et incrementum totius ciuitatis prouenit, politeia sacra pariter et ciuili coeunte ad ejus exædificationem. Si vetustatem spectes coeua est ejus origo conquestus et expugnationis Anglicanæ in Hibernia primordiis.”

“So this city is commonly named Kilkenny, that is the fane or cell of Canice (as Miræus rightly hath it), but may, since the recent accession of honours and privileges con-

^a Ceall Cambiḡ, *Four Masters*; Cill Caimniḡ, *O'Heerin*; Kilkennia, *Patent, Close, and Remembrance Rolls*, passim; Canicopolis, *Clarendon Manuscripts*, tom. li., 4796; Eyrupolis, *Hoveden* in *Annal.*, apud Wilkins, *Concil.*, tom. i., *Dissert. in vet. et modern. Synod. Anglican. constitut.*, p. xix.; “Eyrupolensis ab *Eyro* flumine, vulgò *Neoro*, quod *Kilkenniam* alluit,” *Hibn. Dominican.*, p. 205, n.

^b This manuscript is preserved in the British

Museum, amongst the Clarendon Collection (tom. li., addit. number 4796, pp. 19–30), and is entitled “De Ossoriensi Diœcesesi.” A transcript in a contemporary hand exists in the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin (E. 4. 18). From internal evidence this tract would appear to have been written by the learned David Rothe, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, between the years 1624 and 1641. It is imperfect, the conclusion of the tract being deficient in both copies.

ferred on it by royal favour, be aptly styled, in composite diction, Canicopolis. Seated on the river Nore, which flows beneath two marble bridges distant from each other about two furlongs, its greatest length is from north to south. On the north stands boldly forth the large and magnificent cathedral church sacred to St. Canice, the abbot; southwards, and verging towards the east, rises the castle, or rather a fortress guarded by many castles and bulwarks. From this twofold source sprang the civic community—the temple and the fortress were the nurses of its infancy—the civil and ecclesiastical politics contributing equally to the growth of its buildings. To the inquirer as to the period of its foundation I reply that it is coeval with the English conquest in Ireland.”

In support of the views here put forward it is worthy of observation that the early annals of Ireland pass over the name of Kilkenny in silence—presumptive evidence that it had not any very great or ancient importance. It is not once mentioned in the Lives of St. Kieran or St. Canice, although Kieran’s travels in the district are duly recorded, and we have St. Canice passing from his monastery of Aghabo to the *castellum* or rath of Colman King of Ossory, through Magh Raighne, a district nearly coextensive with the present barony of Kells*, in the county of Kilkenny. Still further negative evidence may be drawn from the ancient poem styled “The Circuit of Ireland,” an undoubted composition of the tenth century. The author, Cormacan Eigeas, who accompanied his hero, Muirheartach Mac Neill, in a hostage-hunting expedition, Anno Domini 941, represents the Prince of Aileach as entering the ancient kingdom of Ossory by the Bealach, or pass of Gabhran (now Gowran in the barony of the same name), where he is hospitably entertained by the local dynast whose daughter he had married. A night is passed by the river named *Fliodair fino* (the clear Fliodais), probably the Nore (an *Pheoir*), whose waters Spencer has immortalized for their “grey” translucency: whilst Tubbrid-britain, on the “cold Magh Airbh,” a plain nearly represented by the present barony of Cranagh, was the scene of a second *bivouac*. Now a glance at the Ordnance index map of the county will at once show that the line of march thus indicated must have passed over, or close to, the site of Kilkenny, yet the poet does not once mention the name. Granting also, as we do, the early existence of a church here, it is worthy of remark, that the primitive Christian ecclesiastics loved to

Vita S. Kierani
apud Colgan,
Acta SS. Hibn.,
tom. i., pp. 458,
&c.

Vita S. Canice
chi, cc. 39, 40.

Circuit of Ire-
land, printed
for the Irish
Archæol. Soc.,
pp. 28-41.

* This route could not be far wide of the site of Kilkenny. The King of Ossory was some- times called King of Magh Raighne—“*felicia Ranix Regis*.”—See note, p. 9, *ante*.

found their cells, not in towns or places of resort, but for the most part in solitudes and deserts. Hence it seems pretty evident that Kilkenny possessed at all events no early *civil* importance*, and we are irresistibly led to the conclusion, that round the primitive cell of St. Canice (*Hibernice*, *Cainneach*, pronounced *Kenny*) gathered the first rudiments of the future city.

Four Masters,
vol. ii., p. 923,
and note ^r.

The earliest supposed allusion to Kilkenny occurs in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Anno 1085, and relates exclusively to the church there,—“*Ceall cainniġ do loṛccadh supmóir*, *Ceall-Cainnigh* was for the most part burned.” Whereby, observes Dr. O’Donovan, it “may be intended to denote the church of St. Canice, in the city of Kilkenny, or it may be any other church dedicated to that saint — — ; but the probability is that St. Canice’s church, in the now city of Kilkenny is here alluded to.” The authority of the learned editor of the *Four Masters*—confirmed by constant local tradition and the consent of

* Although few will now be found disposed to break a lance in his favour, yet the perverse ingenuity of Dr. Ledwich’s statements cannot here be passed over in total silence. In his “*Antiquities of Ireland*” (2nd ed., p. 382), he labours to identify the *Iernis* of Ptolemy and the *Ibernia* of Richard of Cirencester with the *Irishtown* of Kilkenny. It is a pity that this notable theory should be completely demolished by the correlative nature of the very term on which it is raised. The Doctor forgot that till an *English* settlement took place at Kilkenny there would not be an *Irish* town. Again, as to the etymology of the name Kilkenny, he tells us that “the first settlement of the Gael was along the margin of the Nore, the higher land extending from the site of the Cathedral to the Castle, was covered with wood, and from this circumstance had a Celtic name, *Coil* or *Kyleken-ui*, or the wooded head, or hill near the river; and by the natives, *Cilcanuigh*, or *Kilkenny*” (“a truly *wooden-headed* etymology,” says Lanigan, *Eccl. History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 202). Harris and Ussher the Doctor acknowledges to be in favour of “the popular opinion, which deduces the name Kilkenny from St.

Canice or *Kenny*, an imaginary personage, to whom the Cathedral is dedicated” (p. 385); to whom, nevertheless, a substantial existence is allowed when it suits Ledwich’s own purpose (p. 509). But it is needless to weary the reader with more of this charlatanism; it being now universally allowed that Kilkenny means the church of *Cainnech*. “It is written *Cill Caimniġ*, i. e., church of *Cainneach* or *Canice*,” says Dr. O’Donovan, “in the oldest notices of it in Irish manuscripts, and universally so pronounced by the native Irish; *coill*, pronounced *coyle*, means a wood; but *cill*, a church, is a different word, pronounced *kill*, the *k* remarkably hard and slender. — — Dr. Ledwich might as well deny that *Kilpatrick* meant the cell or church of St. Patrick, or *Kilmurry* the cell or church of Mary, as that Kilkenny means the church of *Kenny*. — — To believe, on the authority of Ledwich’s etymology, that *cainniġ* in this name is *ken-ui*, and that *ken* means head, and *ui* water, would be to reject fact and set up an illiterate and silly conceit in its place; for *ken* does not mean *head*, and *ui* does not mean *water*, in this name, nor in the Irish language.”—*Original Letter*, penes auct.

every writer^a, except Ledwich, who has touched on the subject—warrants our assigning this passage to the *ecclesiastical foundation* at Kilkenny, which must have been of some importance, at all events towards the close of the eleventh century, to demand from our meagre and concise annals even a notice of its destruction.

To all who conceive, with us, that Petrie has established the Christian origin of the Round Towers of Ireland, the very fine example of that singular class of building, still remaining, affords positive proof of the early ecclesiastical occupation of Kilkenny. Judging from the style of its masonry, and the total absence of ornament in its constructive features, the Round Tower of St. Canice *may* have been erected in the lifetime of that saint, or at any time from that period to the end of the tenth century. The edifice partially destroyed in 1085, we may safely conjecture to have been a timber structure, as we know that of Kieran at Saigher was; but of whatever material constructed, it was soon rebuilt, as appears by the record of a second conflagration, seventy-one years later (A. D. 1114), probably the result of the civil discord consequent on the usurpation of the kingdom of Munster by Diarmaid, great-grandson of Brian Borumha, during the sickness of his brother Muircheartach, in that year. Nor was Kilkenny the only sufferer from the internecine fury of the contending parties; a long list of churches and monasteries recorded by the Four Masters as destroyed by fire at the same period proves that the Irish chieftains had but too well learned the lesson of sacrilege from the vikings of Norway and Denmark.

Four Masters,
vol. ii., p. 999.

That the church of St. Canice was about this period, or at all events during the twelfth century, again erected in a more durable manner, and with more costly materials, seems probable from the late discovery of massive foundations adjoining the choir of the present cathedral, to give room for the building of which, they have evidently been cut through^b. We have also further evidence of this in the existence of the moulded base of a double jamb-shaft, ornamented with a grotesque and bearded human face, which, as will be seen,

^a Camden, *Britan.*, London, 1607, p. 744; Albertus Miræus, *Notitia Episcopat.*, Antwerp, 1613, lib. i, p. 80; Ussher, *De Britannicar. Ecclesiar. Primordiis*, 4to, p. 957; Stanihurst apud Hollinshed, *Description of Ireland*, p. 386; Han-

mer, *Chronicle of Ireland*, Dublin, 1633, p. 63; Harris's *Ware*, vol. i., p. 403; De Burgo, *Hibn. Dominicana*, p. 204, &c.

^b See the ground plan of the cathedral: the old foundations are indicated by dotted lines.

affords a highly characteristic example of the style of architecture prevalent in Ireland during the first half of the twelfth century. This witness of the existence of an earlier church has been casually preserved in the masonry of the present cathedral, having been inserted, in an inverted position, as an ordinary building stone, as will appear by the accompanying wood-cut. It may still be seen in the gable of the south transept, near the foundation, where it was first observed by the writer, on the removal of the accumulated earth, in the year 1845.



No. 5.

Four Masters,
vol. ii., p. 1081.

*Trans. Kilken.
Archæol. Soc.,*
vol. i., p. 230.

It is sadly indicative of the anarchy which so long reigned in this unhappy country, that bloodshed and turbulence strongly characterize the scanty annals even of its ecclesiastical establishments. To this sad category the church of Kilkenny affords no exception. The Four Masters, under the year 1146, record the murder, "in the middle of Cill-Cainnigh," of Gillaphadraig, the grandson of Donnchadh, lord of Ossory, where he was treacherously slain by the O'Brennans, a tribe settled in Ui-Duach, an ancient territory of which the present barony of Fassadineen, in the county of Kilkenny, now forms a part.

The bounds of the diocese of Ossory, as they at present remain, had by this time been fixed by the canons of the Synod of Rathbreasail^a. The see, however, still remained at Aghabo, and we have no reason to suppose that, before the translation of the cathedral to Kilkenny, the church of St. Canice could lay claim to any dignity beyond the parochial^b, destined although it was shortly to

^a Keating has preserved the canons of this synod; but they are not correctly rendered in any of the English translations of that author. For Lynch's faithful Latin version of these important decrees, see Kelly's edition of *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii., p. 783. Mr. Kelly inclines to the date of 1120; but Mr. King, a still higher authority, regards 1110, Keating's date, as the

true one.—King's *Memoir of the Primacy*, p. 84.

^b The entry in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, under the year 1106 [*recte* 1107], to the effect that "the family of Kilkenny gave an overthrow to the family of Leighlyn" (*Four Masters*, vol. ii. p. 985, *n.*), would seem to militate against this statement, for 'family' here undoubtedly stands for a society of ecclesiastics living under the rule

rise into importance and cast into the shade the more ancient seats of the episcopal authority. The event, however, which was the remote cause of this revolution in the humble parish church of Kilkenny, was of equally momentous import to the entire island.

The more distant of the Irish princes seem to have beheld with unconcern the landing of Richard Fitz-Gilbert^a and his handful of mail-clad followers at the *embouchure* of the Nore and its kindred streams, in aid of Diarmaid Mac Murrough; but as town after town yielded to their assault, and the sinewy but naked tribesmen went down before the lance, and sword, and iron mace, of Strongbow's Cambro-Norman^b men-at-arms, King O'Connor and his dynasts composed their suicidal quarrels and turned on the Irish traitor and his foreign allies. It was, however, now too late to give effective resistance. The princely seigniorship of Leinster, acquired by virtue of the conquest, and under Norman, not Irish law^c, through Eva, the daughter of Diarmaid Na-n-Gall^d, was confirmed by Henry II. to Fitz-Gilbert, on the surrender of his wide acquisitions; and the kingdom of Ossory, co-extensive with the present diocese of the same name, was the brightest gem in Earl Pembroke's almost regal coronet. To consolidate his power in this district, the Earl would naturally fix on and fortify some central point, and what situation more suitable for his purpose than Kilkenny, occupying the centre of the rich and pleasant plain which forms

of a superior, similar to that founded at Leighlin by St. Laserian. But as not the faintest record of the abbats of Kilkenny proper appears on the face of our annals, we are forced to the conclusion that by "Kilkenny" is here meant the church of St. Cainnech of Aghabo.

^a So Strongbow styles himself in the charter whereby he grants half the cantred of Aghabo, with the town, to Adam de Hereford, "as fully as Dermot O'Kelly held the same." This unique document, under the seal of Fitz-Gilbert, is preserved amongst the Ormonde manuscripts, Kilkenny Castle. For the charter at length, and lithograph of the seal, see *Trans. Kilkenny Archæol. Soc.*, vol. i., p. 503.

^b Celtic blood was inherited from Nesta, daughter of Gryffyd ap Rys, by the Fitz-Henry, the

Le Gros, and the Fitz-Stephen. Strongbow's daughter Isabella was a Celt by her mother, Eva-Ny-Mic-Murchadha, and thus the mingled blood passed into the veins of the proudest nobles of England, and finally, through the Mortimers, of royalty itself. So much for the war-cry of "the Celt and the Saxon."

^c By the native or Brehon law, a woman could not inherit the chieftainship or land of the tribe; the male *child*, or *infirm* male adult, was as strictly excluded; and the choice rested on "the oldest and worthiest" of the royal or princely family.

^d Diarmaid-Na-n-Gall, i. e., Diarmaid of the Foreigners,—so Dermot Mac Murrough is styled by the Four Masters, after the earlier annalists: the reason of the epithet is obvious.

the largest and most central portion of ancient Ossory, varied by gentle undulations, and watered by the Nore with its various tributaries? The bogs, woods, and mountains of Upper Ossory were as yet tenaciously occupied by the Irish under their old dynast, the Macgillaphadraig; the moory hills and fastnesses of Ui-Duach afforded a retreat to the O'Brennans; and the southern districts bordering on the lower streams of the Nore and Barrow were rugged and mountainous. Thus Kilkenny naturally grew into importance; and even in 1174 there may have been a fortress of some kind here (probably a stockaded mound), for on the defeat, at Thurles, of the combined Normans and Danes, or Gauls, of Dublin, in that year, the former, according to some anonymous annals formerly in the possession of Vallancey*, retreated to Waterford, having evacuated the castle of Kilkenny; and after their departure the town was demolished.

In 1176^b Richard Fitz-Gilbert, under that strange fatality which clung to so many of the conquerors and their descendants, died without issue male; and his widely extended inheritance fell to his daughter Isabella, then a minor, who, having remained for fourteen years a ward of the crown^c, was given in marriage to William Earl Mareschal the elder, who thus became Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Leinster.

A. D. 1189.
Hanmer's
Chron., p. 172.

* *Collectanea*, vol. ii., p. 354. These annals place the occurrence two years earlier, but this is an error, the true date appears as above in the *Four Masters* (vol. iii., pp. 15-19, and *notes*), who, however, do not give the particulars about Kilkenny. The same event is placed under 1173, in King's *Manuscript Collections*, p. 587, Royal Dublin Society. "By means of this mishap," says Cambrensis, "the Irishmen in euerie place tooke such a heart and comfort, that the whole nation with one consent and agreement rose up against the Englishmen, and the earle, as it were a man besieged, kept himselfe within the wals and citie of Waterford, and from whence he mooued not."—*The Conquest of Ireland*, Hooker's translation, p. 34, col. a. Cambrensis (*ibid.*) states that the forces from Dub-

lin passed through Ossory, "where on a certeine night they lodged themselues." As they were bound for Cashel, Kilkenny was on their line of march.

^b This is the date given by the *Four Masters* (vol. iii., p. 25), and by Mathew Paris; Pembroke and Giraldus Cambrensis place Strongbow's death a year later. Some short annals which occur in the *Liber Primus* of the corporation of Kilkenny point to a different date—"Anno dñi m°. c°. lxxv°. dictus comes Ricardus de Pembrok obiit quinto anno post acquisitionem de Leynester" (p. 57). There is also a strange uncertainty as to the day of the month on which he died.

* Dowling's *Annals*, p. 13; *Annals in the Liber Primus Kilkennia*, p. 57.

With this powerful nobleman may be said to commence the authentic history of our cathedral city. The reputation of his prudence and personal prowess, together with the vast estate he held in Ireland in right of his wife, recommended him to John (Richard I. being then a captive in Austria) as the fittest person to undertake the government, and best calculated to repress the turbulence of the Anglo-Norman barons, and the hostility of the Irish chieftains. In this capacity he came to Ireland in the year 1191, and remained until 1194, when, having appointed Peter Pepard his deputy, we may suppose that he returned to England. According to the Annals in Ware, a castle was erected at Kilkenny, A. D. 1192, during his stay. Ledwich, therefore, is most likely mistaken in his unsupported assertion, that the castle was rebuilt in 1195, as the Earl was not in Ireland at that period. It is plain, however, that the castle and bridge were in existence before 1202, the year of Felix O'Dullany's death, as that prelate granted^a to Prior Osbert and the rest of the brothers of the Hospital of St. John, at the eastern end of the bridge of Kilkenny, the tithes of all the provisions *of the castle*, in pure and perpetual alms. In 1207 the Earl Mareschal returned to Ireland, when, probably, having greater leisure to attend to his private affairs, "he [re]buildd the castle of Kilkenny, and gave the town a charter^b, with privileges which they enjoy to this day."

Cox's *Hibern. Anglican.*, vol. i., p. 45.

Harris's *Ware.* vol. ii., p. 102.

Antiquit., 2nd ed., p. 435.

Hanmer's *Chronicle*, p. 173.
Hibern. Anglicana, vol. i., p. 54.

But although we find O'Dullany thus far connected with the castle of Kilkenny, yet that prelate—an Irishman by birth, and raised to the see of Ossory before the Anglo-Norman invasion—would find little congenial to his taste in the neighbourhood of the Earl Mareschal's Norman fortress and municipality: accordingly, it appears, on the very highest authority, that his cathedral was, to the period of his death in 1202, still at Aghabo^c in Upper Ossory. There was

^a See excerpts from the Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John, Kilkenny, in Sir James Ware's autograph, dated June 5th, 1638, British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.*, Plut. LXXVI. E. 418. This foundation at the eastern side of the bridge over the Nore must not be confounded with the subsequent translation of the community to the contiguous site at present occupied by the ruins of the Priory of St. John, when they received a second charter from the Earl Mareschal.

^b This charter is transcribed into the *Liber Primus Kilkennice*, p. 64, from an inspeximus of 7 Ric. II. It is witnessed, amongst others, by Hugh Bishop of Ossory, and therefore must have been given between 1202 and 1218.

^c "Ita . . . in Ossoriensium Episcoporum Catalogo annotatum invenimus, 'anno Domini MCCII. obiit reverendus pater Felix Odullane episcopus Ossoriensis; cujus Ecclesia cathedralis tunc erat apud Aghboo in superiori Ossoria.'"—

✱

indeed little to induce the *Irishman* O'Dullany to remove the see from the centre of an unconquered^a district to the heart of the *English* settlement at Kilkenny^b. But with his successor matters assumed a different aspect. Hugh Rufus or de Rous, an English Augustinian canon, and Prior of Geoffrey de Marisco's Norman foundation at Kells in Ossory, was elected "primus Anglicus Episcopus Ossoriensis," the first English Bishop of Ossory, as the ancient chartulary of his priory does not fail to record^c. De Rous would, on the other hand, find neighbours little suited to his taste amongst the O'Mores and Macgillapatricks of Leix and Upper Ossory, and as one of the causes which warranted the translation of a see, according to the canon law, was the danger of desecration at the hands of an enemy^d, we may with safety assume that he removed the episcopal chair to Kilkenny immediately after his election in 1202. We have undoubted evidence that De Rous transferred the ancient see lands at Aghabo to the Anglo-Norman Lord of Leinster, in exchange for others "in locis ei utilibus et competentibus"^e; whilst the friendly feeling which existed between them is further shown by the bishop's grant to the Earl of the land lying

Ussher, *De Britan. Eccl. Primord.*, p. 957. This authority, nearly conclusive in itself on the subject, is further confirmed by documents which will be presently cited. The date is by mistake printed MCLII. in both the Dublin and London editions and that of the late Dr. Elrington, in his collected edition of *Ussher's Works* (vol. vi., p. 526): but, as Lanigan observes, this was evidently an error of the press in the first instance, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. iv., p. 239.

^a Donnell Macgillpatrick, King of Ossory, the uncompromising foe of the English, lived till 1185.—*Four Masters*, vol. iii., p. 69.

^b Sir James Ware states that O'Dullany "is reported to have quitted Aghavoe, and to have removed the Episcopal See to Kilkenny" (Harris's *Ware*, vol. i., p. 403); but whilst we should be most unwilling to impugn a direct statement made by this eminent and accurate antiquary, it may be permitted to dissent from this conjecture of his, contradicted as it is by the direct

testimony of Ussher. Harris's quotation from John Hartrey, a late authority, is valueless. Ware doubtfully says that O'Dullany "seems to be the person who laid the foundation of the Cathedral of Kilkenny."—*Idem*, p. 399.

^c See a very full abstract of this document made by Sir James Ware, and preserved in the British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.*, Plut. LXXVI. E. 418, pp. 24-30.

^d "Quarta [causa translationis cathedralium] si continuis bellis, vel crebris hostium incursibus diu exentur."—*De Eccles. Cathedral Tractatus*, auctore Mich. Ant. F. de Vrrvtigoyti, Lugd., 1665, p. 117, col. a.

^e The ancient see lands of Aghabo, environed by Irish enemies, were useless to the Anglo-Norman bishop. The *Liber Albus Ossoriensis* preserves William Earl Mareschal's deed of transfer, whilst an early copy of the bishop's counterpart exists amongst the Ormonde Manuscripts, Kilkenny Castle.

between Cottrell's Bridge over the Bregach^a, and St. Kenerock's^b well, "ad ampliandam villam"^c; to enlarge the town lately chartered by the latter.

We have been thus particular in adducing proof to show that the translation of the see to Kilkenny took place during the time of Hugh de Rous^d, because the certainty of this fact seems to fix the date of the foundation of the still existing cathedral church of St. Cainnech to a period shortly after the year 1202; and having, as we trust, established this important point, we are compelled to turn aside for the present from the more stirring annals of the Earl Mareschal's burgh and feudal fortress to the scanty records of the cathedral. Should life and health permit, we trust, at no distant period, to take up again the thread of Kilkenny history. Its municipality, its monastic houses, and its castle present an ample field, and there are materials in abundance still unwrought by the historian or the antiquary. Time and man's destructive hand have leant more heavily on the records of the see; the annals of the fabric and the meagre record of the events which took place within the walls of the Cathedral of St. Canice may, therefore, with facility be condensed into the ensuing pages of this chapter.

Although O'Dullany cannot be accounted the founder of the present cathedral, recent discoveries tend to show that, at the period when he filled the see,

A. D. 1178-
1202.

^a The river Bregach formed from this period the boundary between the Irish, and the High, or English, Town; Cottrell's Bridge probably stood where Watergate Bridge now crosses the Bregach. Cottrell occurs as a common and early name amongst the burgesses of Kilkenny.

^b St. Kenerock's well is now called St. Kieran's well, midway between the Bregach and the castle. Cuaran the Wise was also called Mochuaroc (*Four Masters*, vol. ii., p. 1012, note ¹), and Kieran Kierock Keuerock Kenerock are variations easily understood. "The old chappell neare Kirock's well," mentioned in Bishop Otway's *Visitation Book*, is no longer in existence.

^c This charter is preserved in the *Liber Albus Ossor.*; amongst the *Clarendon Manuscripts* in Mus. Brit., tom. li., Additional No. 5796; and

in the Tower of London. For this augmentation the Earl bound himself and his successors to pay to the bishop four ounces of gold annually.

^d In support of the conclusion advocated in the text, the authority of the learned and judicious Lanigan may also be adduced: speaking of O'Fogarty, O'Dullany's predecessor in the see, that writer observes:—"It is supposed that in his time the see of Ossory was at Aghaboe, the famous monastery of St. Cannich or Kenny. Yet this is doubtful; but it is certain that it was there in the time of his immediate successor, Felix O'Dullany, who held that see from 1178 to 1202: nor was it, as far as I can judge, until after O'Dullany's death that it was removed from Aghaboe to Kilkenny."—*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 237.

a parish church of no mean importance stood on its site^a. In the summer of 1845 some ancient foundations were discovered on removing the earth which the burials of six centuries had accumulated above the base line of the building. These foundations, which were found, on examination, to have been *cut through*, in order to prepare for the erection of newer work, would appear to have formed the nave of the more ancient church, its chancel extending eastward beyond that of the existing structure. The sculptured base of a double jamb-shaft, which has been used as *building stone* in the wall of the south transept (see cut, p. 26, *supra*), was, no doubt, a portion of this earlier erection, and serves to fix its date to about the middle of the twelfth century.

A. D. 1202-
1218.

It is probable that Hugh de Rous, on the translation of the see to Kilkenny, was content with the structure which he found there, for whilst it is on record that he conferred many benefits on the priory of Kells, from which he was promoted, we find it distinctly stated that he did nothing for his episcopal see^b.

A. D. 1218-
1250.

There remains no reliable evidence to prove that the four prelates who followed De Rous had any part in the reconstruction of the mother church, if we except Harris's unsupported assertion, that he and his two immediate successors, Peter Malveisin and William of Kilkenny, are "said to have forwarded the building of the cathedral." In the Ormonde Manuscripts, however, there is preserved an original letter from Bishop Malveisin to Theobald Walter the younger, first chief butler of Ireland, enjoining him, under pain of excommunication, to pay "in the cathedral church of St. Canice," a sum of 128 marks, for certain reasons therein set forth^c. This document proves that a cathedral existed at Kilkenny before 1229, when Malveisin died, which *may* have been the older building already alluded to. There is, however, a remote probability that the *choir* had been finished by Malveisin before his death, and, as we know was often

Harris's *Ware*,
vol. i., p. 404.

^a This may have been the church of which, according to Ware and the author of the manuscript *De Ossoriensi Diocesi*, O'Dullany laid the foundation at Kilkenny; and which Harris, quoting John Hartrey, a late and doubtful authority, states that he dedicated to St. Canice.—Harris's *Ware*, vol. i., p. 403.

^b "Qui diuersa bona in dicto monasterio perpetrauit, nihil in sede epāli."—*Nomina reusen-*

dorum p̄rum Epōrum Ossorien cum quibusdam eorum bonis, &c., Collect. de Rebus Hibern., Cod. Clarend., tom. li., 4796, Mus. Brit.

^c This curious document must have been written at some period before 1229, when Malveisin died, and subsequent to the year 1221, as Theobald was a minor of five or six years of age on his father's death, in 1206.—Carte's *Ormonde*, Introduction, pp. xxi., xxii.

the case, used as the cathedral anterior to the completion of the remainder of the structure. Peter Malveisin filled the episcopal chair at a time when the traces of the Norman style were fast fading away and giving place to the pure Early English; and if the chancel was built before his death we would, *à priori*, expect to find the latter style preponderating, indeed, but still exhibiting some of the characteristics of the preceding architectural era. These indications present themselves in the round heads of the lancet lights with which the north and south walls of the choir are pierced, whilst the strictly Early English character of the capitals and mouldings of these very windows show the predominance of that style.

However this point may be determined, it is certain that bishop Hugh de Mapilton^a did more for the fabric than any of the prelates that preceded him. No specific record remains to tell of what portions he was builder, but the MS. catalogue of the Bishops of Ossory, already quoted, calls him the original founder, adding that he put the first hand to it, and, at his own proper labour and cost, nearly brought the pile to a completion; having been alone prevented from so doing, according to Ware, by his untimely death. We may hence conclude that little, if anything, had been done by his predecessors in the see.

The short incumbency of Hugh III. seems to have left the fabric as it stood on Mapilton's death; and to Geffry St. Leger, who succeeded in 1260, belongs the honour of completing the cathedral, at great cost. Hence he has been termed its second founder^b. The chaste unity of style which the building exhibits may be thus attributed to the fact of its having been commenced and brought to completion during the prevalence of that most beautiful style of Gothic architecture,—the Early English.

^a "Hugo de Mapilton huius nomine secundus, primus fundator ecclie s̄ti Canici Kilkennie qui eandem primo edificare incepit, et quasi usque ad finem suis magnis sumptibus, laboribus, et expensis opus perfecit."—*Nomina Ep̄orum Ossorien'*, &c., E. 3. 13., fol. 88, Trinity College, Dublin. Hanmer, a canon of our cathedral, also counts Mapilton "the first founder."—*Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 195. Ware says:—"Fabricæ porrò ecclies cathedrales S. Canici, strenuè incubuit;

sed morte immaturâ sublatus, operi ultimam manum non imposuit."—*Hibernia Sacra*, p. 142.

^b "Ecclesie suæ structuram quam Mapiltonus imperfectam reliquerat, is sumptu non exiguo perfecit."—*Hibernia Sacra*, p. 142. "Magnamque partem operis ecclie s̄ti Canici prius p̄ Hugonē Mapleton' incept' construxit," hence he was termed "Secundus fundator d̄cte ecclie."—*Nomina Ep̄orum Ossorien'*, E. 3. 13., Trin. Coll. Dubl.

A. D. 1310.

Red Book of the Irish Exchequer, quoted in Hardiman's *Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 120.

At the close of a parliament held at Kilkenny in the year 1310, being the third year of Edward II., the Archbishop of Cashel, and the Bishops of Ossory, Emly, and Lismore, with the Bishop elect of Leighlin, in the presence of Richard, Earl of Ulster, John Wogan, Justiciary of Ireland, Richard de Clare, John Fitz Thomas, John de Barry, and others of the magnates of Ireland, assembled in the cathedral (*in majori ecclesia Sancti Kenni*), of Kilkenny, solemnly excommunicated all who should violate the ordinances of the parliament just terminated.

Lib. Rub. Ossor. fol. 10 verso.

A. D. 1316.

The three prelates, who succeeded St. Leger in the see, appear to have left the cathedral as they found it, and not until after the accession of Richard de Ledrede do we find the annals of the fabric resumed. Ware places his accession in 1318, but the contemporary authority of the "*Liber Ruber Ossoriensis*" records his appointment by the Pope in 1316, and says, that in the Octaves of St. Michael, of the same year, he held a full synod of his diocese at Kilkenny, no doubt in the cathedral church, wherein were enacted constitutions, which are on record in the same MS., and have been published by Wilkins (*Concil. Magn. Brit. et Hib.*, tom. II., pp. 501-506). In consequence of the famous prosecution for witchcraft which De Ledrede instituted against Dame Alice Kyteler and her accomplices, William Outlaw her son, engaged, as a portion of the terms of his pardon by the bishop, to cover completely with lead, at his own cost, the chancel, and all the rest of the cathedral church, from the belfry eastward, and also the entire chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the same church^a; but the conditions of the pardon not having been fulfilled, we find Roger Outlaw, Prior of Kilmainham, and Chancellor of Ireland, somewhat later in the same year, binding himself to fulfil William Outlaw's agreement under a penalty of 1000 marks, an immense sum in those days: we may conclude, therefore, that the work was done within the four years^b to which he was limited. If, however, the eastern portion of the cathedral was leaded by Outlaw, it was so

A. D. 1324

^a "Et quod cancellum ecclesiæ cathedralis et ecclesiam totam a campanili supra versus orientem ac etiam totam capellam beatæ Mariæ Virginis in eadem ecclesia suis sumptibus de plumbo perfecte cooperiret."—*A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler*,

printed for the Camden Society, p. 28. Camden (*Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 818), makes Outlaw promise to cover with lead St. Mary's Church, but this is an error.

^b "Finaliter conventum est inter eos quod dictus cancellarius pro præfato Willelmo totam

much money and labour lost; for, as Friar Clyn relates (and no doubt he was an eye-witness) in 1332, on Friday the 22nd of May, the belfry fell, along with great part of the choir, breaking down the side chapels and involving the roofing and bells in the ruin, "so that it was a horrid and pitiful spectacle to the beholders"^a. The cathedral would not seem to have recovered from this catastrophe for more than twenty years, the earlier portion of De Ledrede's^b incumbency having passed in the stormy contests with the crown and the lay nobility of his diocese, consequent on his proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler. Indeed he does not appear to have seriously set himself to improve his cathedral till after 1354, when, being restored to the royal favour, he set about repairing the damage inflicted on the fabric by the fall of the tower, and new furnished the windows with painted glass of the most exquisite design, more especially the three eastern lancet lights of the choir, on which the history of the Gospel was portrayed in so masterly a manner that the like was not to be found in all Ireland. A. D. 1332.

The famous parliament of Kilkenny having been held in this year, it is more than probable that the excommunication, which gave additional sanction to its ordinances, was pronounced by the assembled prelates in the cathedral of St. Canice^c. A. D. 1367.

John de Tatenale, who succeeded De Ledrede, released all the procurations belonging to his church, except 26s. 8d., devoting them to the fabric of the cathedral^d. A. D. 1360-1370. Harris's Ware, vol. i., p. 411.

ecclesiam cathedralem a campanilidesuper versus orientem cum capella beatæ virginis perfecte de plumbo cooperiet, cum omnibus suis adminiculis, infra quatuor annos proximo sequentes."—*A Contemporary Narrative, &c.*, pp. 36, 37.

^a "1332. Cecidit campanile Sancti Kannici, Kylkennie, et magna [magnam?] pars [partem?] chori, vestibulum capellarum, et campanas, et meremium confregit, die Veneris 11 kal. Junii; unde horribile et miserabile spectaculum erat contuentibus."—*The Annals of Ireland, by Friar John Clyn, &c.*, p. 24. The same event is more succinctly narrated in some brief, but ancient annals, preserved in the *Liber Primus* of the Corporation of Kilkenny, p. 56.

^b "Utcunque, sub finem anni 1354, in gratiam receptus est, & hâc tempestate sedatâ, reliquum ætatis in magna tranquillitate transegit, Ecclesiam cathedralem hic multùm ornavit, omnesque fenestras de novo erexit, ac vitro obduxit, inter quas enituit fenestra orientalis, opere tam eximio adornata, ut in universa Hibernia par ei non inveniretur."—*Hibernia Sacra*, p. 144. Ware's assertion that De Ledrede, "omnes fenestras de novo erexit," must have reference to the glazing, as the stonework of the windows belongs indubitably to the previous century.

^c *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, printed for the Irish Archæological Society, vol. ii., p. 119.

^d If we are to assume as an average the procu-

A. D. 1405-
1416.

Thomas Snell gave to his cathedral church a new mitre set with precious stones, gloves, episcopal sandals, and one fair silken "capa" or cope woven with golden spots or patterns^a.

A. D. 1460-
1478.

The original Early English vaulting of the tower having probably been destroyed by the fall of the latter in 1332, it was re-erected of cut stone by David Hacket^b, who succeeded Bishop Barry in 1460. This noble example of Perpendicular work, still extant, fully bears out its builder's fame as an architect^c.

Four Masters,
vol. iv., pp. 929,
1105.

A. D. 1478.

In 1443 Fineen and Dermot, the two sons of Macgillapatrik, Lord of Ossory, were beaten to death in Kilkenny by Alexander Croc, John Begg O'Connally, and the son of Walter Sirry, at the instigation of Mac Richard Butler. Thirty-five years after, the Ossorians had their revenge, for Richard, the son of Edmond Mac Richard Butler who procured the murder, was slain by the son of one of the murdered men, Fineen Roe, the son of Fineen, "in the doorway of the church of St. Canice."

A. D. 1527-
1550.
Harris's Ware,
vol. i., p. 415.
A. D. 1588.
State Papers,
vol. iii., part
iii., pp. 111,
112.

Milo Baron presented to his cathedral a pastoral staff of silver, and a fair marble table for the altar.

In this year the Council of Ireland write to Cromwell, that, in pursuance of their intention to visit the "fowre shires above the Barrowe," "not oonlie for publishing of the Kingis injunctiōns, setting furth of the Wurd of God, and the Kingis Supremycie, together with the plucking downe of ydolles, and the extinguishing of ydolatrie, and the Bishop of Romes auctoritie, but also aswell for levieng of the first fructes and twentie parte, with other the Kingis reuennues, in theis fower shires above the Barrowe, as keping of cessions, and redresse of

rations levied by the Archbishop of Dublin, at his visitation of the diocese in 1351, this donation would be a liberal one, the total being £72 *Os. 9d.* But the *Liber Ruber Ossoriensis*, which records the fact, also states, that this sum was exorbitant, amounting to twice the usual charge. When Ireland was prostrated by the Scottish invasion under Edward Bruce, A. D. 1318, the procurations of the diocese of Ossory only amounted to £4 *2s. 11½d.*—*Liber Ruber. Ossor.*, folios 21 *dorso*, 24, 24 *dorso*, 26 *dorso*.

^a "Qui ecclie cathedrali novam mitrā gemīs p̄tiosis ornatam, chirotecas, sādalia pontificalia,

et unam pulchram capam sericam notulis aureis contextam dedit."—*Nomina Epōrum Ossor.*, E. 3. 13, Trin. Coll. Dubl.

^b "Testudinem prætereā campanilis Ecclesie Canicanæ, è polito lapide, erigi curavit."—*Hib. Sacra*, p. 147. "Sed tholum campanilis e tecto surgentis concameravit lapidea fornice David Hacketus."—*De Ossor. Diœcesi*, Cod. Clar., tom. li., 4796. The door of the ancient chapter room also belongs to this period.

^c He was, probably, the architect of the famous monastery of Batalha in Portugal.—See a note in Murphy's *Batalha*.

the peoples complaints here," they arrived at Kilkenny, where, after being "interteined by thErle of Ormonde," we may suppose they proceeded to the cathedral as the principal church, where on "Newyers daie thArchebishop of Dublin preched the Wurd of God, having veray good audience, publishing the Kingis said injunctions, and the Kingis translacion of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, thArticles of the Faithe, and Ten Commaundementes in Inglishe; divers papers wherof we delivered to the Bishop, and other Prelates of the diocese, commaunding them to do the like thorough all their jurisdiccions."

John Bale, on his accession to the see, broke down the statues and effigies of the saints in the cathedral, sparing, however, the painted windows put up by De Ledrede^a. On the 26th of July (the news of the death of Edward VI.

having reached Kilkenny the day before) Bale says that "a very wicked justice called Thomsa Hothe^b, with the Lorde Mountgarret, resorted to the cathedrall church, requyrynge to have a communion, in the honour of S. Anne. . . . The prestes made hym answeare, 'that I had forbydden them that celebracion, savyng only upon the Sundayes:' as I had, in dede for the abhomynable ydolatries that I had seane therein. 'I discharge you (sayth he) of obedience to your bishop in this point, and commaunde you to do as ye have done heretofore." And again, "on the Thursdaye after, which was the laste daye of August, I beinge absent, the clergie of Kilkennie, by procurement of that wicked justice Hothe, blasphemously resumed agayne the whole Papisme, or heape of supersticions of the bishop of Rome; to the utter contempte of Christe and his holy wurde, of the Kinge and counsell of Englande, and of all ecclesiasticall and politike ordre, without eyther statute or yet proclamacion. They ronge all the belles in that cathedrall, minstre, and parish churches: they flonge up their cappes to the battlement of the great temple, with smylinges and laughinges most dissolutely, the justice hymselfe being therewith offended."

Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, writing to the Council in England on the 16th of December, in this year, says: "There [in Kilkenny] Rorie

^a "Cum . . . impudicus Ganeo Johannes Balæus confregisset et violasset quascūque reperire poterat sanctorum statuas et effigies, ab his tamen fenestris tam ipse quam alii post eum inuasores Episcopi manus violentas continue-

runt."—*De Ossoriensi Diascesi, ut supra.*

^b Thomas St. Laurence, *alias* Howthe, was a Justice of the King's Bench at this period: he died in January, 1554.—*Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, part ii., p. 32.

Harleian Miscellany, ed. 1810, vol. vi., pp. 449, 452.

A. D. 1575.

Oge [O'More] came unto me upon the Earle of Ormond's woorde, and in the cathedrall church of Kilkennye, submitted hymself, repenting (as he saied) his former faultes^a, and promising hereafter to lyve in better sorte (for worse than he hath bene he cannot be), I accepted hym upon entreatye and tryall of amendment till my retorne"^b.

A. D. 1614.

In this year the gate, and steps commonly called St. Canice's Steps, were erected at the expense of the Dean and Chapter; as appears by an inscription still extant over the gate.

At this period the Cathedral stood in a "close," on which opened the bishop's palace, the dean's house, the common hall of the vicars chorals, and most of the dignitaries' and prebendaries' residences, and to which this gate was the entrance from the town side. At a late period a wall was built enclosing the church-yard, and leaving a public road round the south-east and part of the north sides of the cemetery, whereby the place was deprived of its close-like character. An engraving of the gate and steps will be given in a subsequent page.

A. D. 1630.

The Most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown, fol. 98.

"The 9th of Octobre, 1630.—The pish bell was newly cast in the tyme of Patrick Gaffney was Portriff, by one Thomas [*blank*] a Walshmā, for wch he rec' of M^r Patrick Morphy, & M^r Oliv^r Roth the som of seaven pounds ten shillings sterling, for his labo^r, he finding all mann^r of necessaryes, as also stocking and setting it upp into the bellfrye, for wch occacōn of casting the bell, as also for oth^r necessaryes the oute pish was seste in vi pounds four shillings, as ensueth:—

Viz. Therle is grange,	2 ^s 6 ^d st.'	Rochfords Ardaghe,	02 ^s 0 ^d
Palm [?] towne,	7 ^s 6 ^d	Dunningstoune,	07 ^s 0 ^d
Ballyburr,	7 ^s 6 ^d	Keatingstoune,	10 ^s 6 ^d
ffennestowne,	15 ^s	Thornback and Chapple, . .	07 ^s 6 ^d
Bolyshee,	07 ^s 6 ^d	Coldgrange,	07 ^s 6 ^d
Clorā,	10 ^s 6 ^d	Talbots Inch,	07 ^s 6 ^d
Lackenehlonteh,	03 ^s 6 ^d	New P ^k ,	04 ^s 6 ^d
Cappehnegereh,	5 ^s 6 ^d	Ballyneleynah,	06 ^s 0 ^d
Bonnestoune,	10 ^s 0 ^d	Rathinneghan,	02 ^s 0 ^d
			6 ^l 4 ^s st'

^a Rorie Oge had little intention to forego his "former faultes;" least of all had he thoughts of "renouncing that aspiring Imagination of Tyle to the Countrie" of Leix, over which his

ancestors had been chieftains.

^b *Cotton MS.*, Titus, B, 10, fol. 16, *dorso*, Brit. Mus. The letter is printed in Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State*, vol. i., pp. 81-85.

The day and yere afforsayd the in pissioners being assembled uppon warning given bye the church Wardens, M^r Patrick Morphy and Oliv^r Roth, in the pish chapple^a, they agreed uppon that they, the inhabitants of the Irishtowne and ffreerē streets shalbe seste for the leaviing of six pounds sterling towards the casting of the sayed bell, buying of ropes for the same, and for one small sancts bell, as alsoe for glasing the chapple, and buying oth^r necessaries for the same.”

The fierce storm of the “Great Rebellion” did not pass over the cathedral without leaving the marks of devastation in its track. Griffith Williams, one of the chaplains of Charles I., was in this year appointed to the see of Ossory. He had no sooner, he says, “seen Kilkenny, and preached *once* in that cathedral, but the Rebellion then brake out the October following.” We next find Joseph Wheeler of Stamcarty, a son of the last bishop, and others, deposing on oath, “that one Unsill Grace and divers other rebels in Kilkenny broke open the dores of the Cathedrall Church there, and robbed the same church of the challises, surplesses, ornaments, books, records^b, and writings there being; and made gunpowder in St. Patrick’s church, and digged the tombs and graves in the churches in Kilkenny, under colour of getting up mouldes whereon to make gunpowder.” John Keavann, also, a prebendary of the cathedral, swears, “that the Cathedrall Church and common hall of Kilkenny were ryfled, ransacked, and robbed by the sept of the Coddies, Dobbins, and the servants and confederates of Redmond Purcell of the Irishtowne of Kilkenny.” From another deposition we learn that the cathedral had then an organ; for John Watkinson, parson of Castlecomer, deposed, “that James Kevan, Vicar of Castlecomber, hath revolted to the Mass, and hath joyned himself unto the Popish faction, and doth, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Kennes, in Kilkennie, as it is generally reported, exercise his skill in singing and playing upon the organe.” Again, James Benn deposed, “that on the sunday in the morning next after that this depon^t was robbed of his goods [15th December, 1641], hee this depon^t went to the Church

A. D. 1641.

The Persecution and Oppression of John Bale and of Griffith Williams, two Learned Men and Right Rev. Bishops of Ossory. London, 1664, p. 6.

Original Depositions of 1641, MS. F. 2. C., Library, Trin. Coll. Dubl.

Idem.

Idem.

Idem.

^a This was a chapel in the cathedral which the vicars choral were bound to serve; about this time the Lady Chappel served as the parish church.—*De Ossor. Diœcesesi*, § 33. The providing a sanctus bell at this period is curious.

^b It is but fair to state that Bishop Wheeler’s son is himself charged by Griffith Williams with abstracting the Records of the see, or at least with suffering them to be purloined.—*A Small Part of the Great Wickedness, &c.* p. 26.

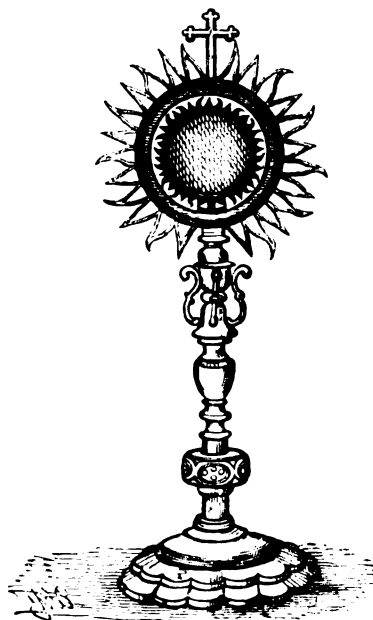
of S^t Kennys in Kilkenny to pray, where he beheld and sawe one M^r Smith, a Protestant Minister, late of Ballinekill, and one M^r Lemon, a Scottish Protestant, and late a Schoolmaster in Kilkenny, which M^r Smith was then and there stark naked, and the said Lemon hadd only a paire of breeches on left, both being stript in the church, and standing trembling at the Altar, where the depon^t neither being able to releeve nor helpe, left them in that poore state."

A. D. 1644.

Kilkenny having become the head-quarters of the Confederates, and the Roman Catholic ritual having been re-established in its cathedral, churches, and monasteries, bishop David Roth presented to his cathedral of St. Canice a large silver gilt monstrance, of which the accompanying cut, engraved from a drawing by Mr. Fitzpatrick, of Freshford, is a representation.

Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeol. Soc., vol. i., pp. 92, 93.

This monstrance, as well as several chalices, embroidered vestments, crosses, &c., having passed into the hands of an ancient Kilkenny family, descended by the female side from the Roths—the Bryans of Jenkinstown—have been lately presented by them to the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Kilkenny. Round the glazed central compartment of the monstrance runs the quotation :—*ECCE TABERNACVLVM DEI CVM HOMINIBVS ET HABITABIT CVM EIS.* On the base is engraved :—*DAVID ROTH EPISCOP. OSSORIEN. ME FIERI FECIT. ANO. 1644. ORA PRO CLERO ET POPVLO DIOECESIS OSSORIEN.*



No. 6.

A. D. 1645.
Nunziatura in Irlanda, Firenze, 1844, p. 72.

Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio, entered the city on the 12th of November in this year. He was met outside St. Patrick's gate by the clergy, magistrates, and principal men of the place ; and from that point to the cathedral, about as long, he observes, as the Lungara, at Rome, the streets were lined at each side by musketeers. Robed in his pontifical hat and rochet, he walked beneath a canopy, borne amidst torrents of rain by uncovered citizens, and so passed by the lofty and graceful market-cross in the High-street to the cathedral church, at the door of which he was met by the aged bishop Roth, who handed him the aspersorium

and, having offered him incense, led him to the high altar; from whence, the prayer proper to the ceremonial having been recited, Rinuccini gave the benediction to the assembled multitudes, and published the indulgence of which he was the bearer; in conclusion, another oration expressive of joy for the Nuncio's safe arrival was recited.

On the 18th of August, in this year, Bishop Roth was induced by the Nuncio and the Congregation of the Clergy at Waterford, who were opposed to the peace concluded by the Supreme Council with the Marquis of Ormonde, to publish an Interdict, enjoining a general cessation of all divine offices throughout the city and suburbs of Kilkenny. The cathedral, no doubt, was the scene of this act of Roth's.

A. D. 1646.
Cox's *Hibn. Anglicana*, second part, p. 169.

A sentence of excommunication, dated October 5, 1646, from his palace of residence at Kilkenny, was fulminated by the Nuncio against all supporters of the peace, and, of course, published in the cathedral.

Hibn. Dominicana, p. 658.

The Nuncio, on the conclusion of the Cessation with Inchiquin, May 22, caused a protest against it, which the bishops had privately signed on the 27th of April previously, to be affixed to the doors of the cathedral of St. Canice, and when this was contemptuously torn down by Dr. Fennel, Rinuccini issued an excommunication on the 27th of May, interdicting all cities, towns, and villages from the celebration of divine service, the sacraments, and Christian rites, if they should adhere to or favour the truce. That Bishop Roth, however, refused his sanction to these violent proceedings, appears from a letter addressed to him by Fleming, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

A. D. 1648.
Leland's *History of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 325.
O'Connor's *Historical Address*, part ii., pp. 346, 347.

Hibn. Dominicana; Supplementum, p. 897.

Father Peter Walsh, author of "The History and Vindication of the Loyal Formulary, or Irish Remonstrance," in the July of this year, whilst Owen Roe O'Nial's tents could be seen from the walls of Kilkenny, spurred on by repeated and urgent messages from the Supreme Council, sat at one table for three days and three nights writing the answers to the queries propounded by that body to Bishop Roth and the clergy then assembled at Kilkenny on the lawfulness of the Cessation:—

A. D. 1648.

History and Vindication of the Loyal Formulary, &c., pp. xlv., xlvii.

"And I remember also very well," he proceeds, "how, for the same reasons, I was forc'd to watch, moreover, even the very two next dayes and nights (immediately following the former three) for studying the first Sermon that was preach'd in *Ireland* of purpose on the Subject of the foresaid *Censures*, against them and the Nuncio. Nor could I, even for

this other reason, otherwise choose. On the *Sunday* before, it was publish'd in all the churches of the Town that kept not the *Interdict* [the Dominican and Franciscan orders alone obeyed it], that I would next *Sunday* following Preach in the *Cathedral* on the great and then present Controversie. To perform which duty (notwithstanding I had not shut my eyes for five dayes and nights before), God gave me strength. My Text was that of *Susannah* in the Prophet *Daniel*, *Angustia sunt mihi undique*, Dan. 13. 22. viz., answerable to the great perplexity I was in, 'twixt fear of the *Nuncio's* indignation of one side, if I did my duty, and my belief of God's vengeance threatening me on the other hand, if I did not."

A. D. 1648.
Id., p. 28.

When Charles Mac Mahon's "*Disputatio Apologetica*"^b was ordered by the Supreme Council to be burned by the common hangman in Kilkenny, on the occasion of its being circulated amongst the Confederates there, Peter Walsh, "by the command of the then supream Council, preach't nine Sermons five Sundays one after another in *St. Kennys* Church on that text of *Jeremiah*—*Quis est ex vobis sapiens qui considerat hoc, quare perierit terra*"—in order to counteract the opinions promulgated by that writer, whom Walsh terms "the monster Jesuit"^a.

A. D. 1650.

During his stay at Kilkenny, Rinuccini offered to purchase the eastern windows of the chancel for £700; but this tempting offer was refused by Bishop Roth. We may, perhaps, regret that these ancient glass paintings were not removed to Italy, for in a few years they ceased to exist. In 1650, Cromwell, having occupied the Irishtown (and, we may suppose, the cathedral^b) on the 25th of March, lodged there the night before his attempt to breach the town wall near the Franciscan Abbey. On this occasion, tradition has it that the aisles of the cathedral church were converted into stabling for the horses of the Protector's troopers. Kilkenny fell the next day by the treachery of the townsmen,

Shee's *St. Canice*, p. 10.

^a The sentiments of this atrocious book may be judged from the following extract:—"Hiberni mei agite, pergite, et perficite inceptum opus defensionis, et libertatis vestrae, et occidite hæreticos aduersarios vestros, et eorum fautores, et adiutores è medio tollite. Iam interfecistis centum quinquaginta millia hostium his quatuor, vel quinque annis, ab anno scilicet 1641, vsque ad hunc annum 1645 in quo hæc scribo, vt ipsi aduersarij in suis scriptis demugientes palam fatentur, et vos non diffitemini, et ego plures hæ-

eticos hostes occisos fuisse credo, et vtinam omnes."—*Disputatio Apologetica*, Dublin reprint of 1849, p. 125.

^b *A History or Brief Chronicle of the Chiefs Matters of the Irish Warres*, London, 1650, states that, before he took the town, "the L. Lieut. beate the Enemy from two of the churches in Kilkenny where they had fortified." Again, it records that, ere the castle and town surrendered, Irishtown and *Patrick's Church* were taken,—so that *the other church* was the cathedral.

and the results of the Cromwellian occupation will be best told in the quaint language of Bishop Williams. After relating that the "fanatick Limbs of the Beast" had "beheaded" most of the churches in his diocese, "the Roofes of them, both Slates and Timber, being quite taken off," and the walls "thrown down even to the Ground," so that of above an hundred parishes he saw "not ten Churches standing, nor half so many well repaired," he thus proceeds :—

"And the great, and famous, most beautiful Cathedral Church of Saint Keney, they have utterly defaced, and ruined, thrown down all the Roof of it, taken away *five* great, and goodly Bells, broken down all the Windows, and carried away every bit of the Glass, that, they say, was worth a very great deal; and all the doors of it, that Hogs might come, and root, and the Dogs gnaw the Bones of the dead; and they brake down a most exquisite Marble Font (wherein the Christian's Children were regenerated) all to pieces, and threw down the many *many* goodly Marble Monuments, that were therein, and, especially, that stately and costly Monument of the most honourable and noble Family of the House of Ormond, and divers others, of most rare and excellent Work, not much inferiour (if I be not much mistaken) to most of the best (excepting the King's), that are in Saint Paul's Church, or the Abby of Westminster."

*Seven Treatises,
Very necessary
to be observed
in these very bad
Days, &c. Lon-
don, 1661.
Prefatory Re-
monstrance.*

On the 12th of August, in this year, the Commonwealth party, then supreme in Kilkenny, and in some degree ashamed of the ruinous state of the cathedral and St. Mary's church, the result of their over-heated zeal and unbounded cupidity in the first instance, passed the following "Act for the Reparation of the Churches." However, with regard to the cathedral at least, it would not appear that their intentions were carried out, probably in consequence of the desired contributions not having been sent in by the inhabitants of the town :—

*A. D. 1658.
White Book.*

"The Mai^r Aldermen and Citizens of this City in Comon Councell assembled seriously considering the ruinous condition of S^t Maryes and S^t Kennyes Churches, and also remembering how zealously forward the wisdom of former times have beene, in workes of this nature, and how greate an ornam^t the same would bee unto this towne & County, as well as convenient for y^e worshipp of God, and houlding itt their duety as m^{ch} as in them lyes to preuent y^e totall Ruine therof, and to endeauour there may be sett up more of the sayd churches, a good Ringe of Bells, and to putt y^e sayd churches in as good repaire as y^e present condition of affaires will give way, doe therefore hereby inuite all psons whatt soever cheerefully to contribute to soe honorable and good a Worke, seeing that withoutt a generall and liberall contribution y^e inhabitants of y^e sayd City are noe wayes able to repayer y^e sayd church or churches, and whatt any pson or psons shall give or doe for this purpose,

the same shalbe and is hereby ordered to be registered amongst y^e records of y^e sayd Citty, as a testimony of their thankfull acceptance of y^e same; And for y^e better and more speedy finishing of y^e sayd worke y^e Mai^r of y^e sayd Citty for y^e time being is heerby authorized and desired to appoint a Comitty or Comittees and to write letters and use all other lawfull wayes and means w^{ch} to him shall seem meete, y^e better to bring in moneyes to repayer y^e sayd Churches, &c. And itt is further enacted by y^e Mai^r Aldermen & Cittizens with their full assent and consent and by y^e authority of the same, that if itt shall soe fall out thatt money doe or shall nott speedely enogh be raised, come, or be brought in, by any of y^e wayes aforesayd, or thatt any pson or psons shall either voluntarily contribute, or shall nott voluntarily contribute sufficiently, both respecting their abilities, and y^e sum requisitt to finish y^e sayd worke, thatt then y^e Mai^r for y^e time being by and with y^e consent of two or more of the Aldermen of y^e sayd Citty, shall lay, or cause to be layed taxed or assessed upon every of y^e sayd inhabitants, or residents, and likewise upon every other pson or psons whatsoever, that now hath or hereafter shall have either any reall or psonal estate within y^e sayd Citty, Libertyes, or County of y^e sayd Citty, soe much money as shall be requissite for y^e suficient repayer of the sayd churches, thatt now are, or hereafter shall be allowed of by y^e chiefe magistrates of y^e Comonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland for y^e worsh^{pp} and Service of God, and alsoe for provideing and hanging up of a good ring of Bells, and keeping them in good repaier and condition as often as they shall stand in need of any amendm^t or reparation, and y^e sayd money soe assessed and taxed, shall leavy & collect by distress and sale of y^e goods of every or any of y^e sayd inhabitants, or psons aforesayd, any law usadge or custome in y^e sayd Citty heretofore to y^e contrary in any wise nott withstanding. And itt is further enacted by y^e authority aforesaid for y^e more efectuall carrying on of the ends aforesayd thatt y^e Mai^r for y^e time being with any two or more of y^e Aldermen shall appoint a Colector or Collectors Receaver or Receavers of the sayd mony and alsoe shall and may agree with any pson or psons for y^e reparation of y^e Churches and providing of bells as aforesayd and shall cause y^e same to be done accordingly and y^e money soe taxed and assessed to be rec^d, collected, and payed to y^e workemen aforesayd, by or under y^e hand of y^e Mai^r; And all other thing and thinges requisitt and necessary in and aboutt y^e premises herein omitted or nott herein mentioned, shall for y^e more spedy and efectuall bringing to efect y^e worke and ends aforesayd, be wholly left to y^e Mai^r of y^e sayd Citty for y^e time being, whoe shall and may, and is hereby authorized to doe and cause y^e same and evry thing requisitt to be done, and sayd Mai^r and all other psons acting therein shall be justified for y^e same by vertue of this actt, any law usadge or custome heretofore within y^e sayd Citty to y^e contrary in any wise nott withstanding."

A. D. 1660.
The Persecu-
tion, &c., p. 16.

The condition in which Bishop Williams found his cathedral and palace is thus described in another of his works:—"Then, things being *somewhat*

settled, I went to live upon my Bishoprick, in *Kilkenny*, where I found the *Cathedral Church* and the *Bishops house* all ruined, and nothing standing but the *bare walls*, without *Roofs*, without *Windows*, but the holes, and without *doors*.”

“ And when I desired M^r Connel, my Register, to begin to repair some places of that Church and to set up some Benches and Forms, to let the people to understand, that we intended and hoped (though it should cost two thousand pounds) to have all the Church repaired ; some of the Anabaptists (as we have good reason to think so), came in the night time (the Church having no doors), and with Axes and Hammers or Hatchets brake them down, and carried them quite away, and did other unseemly Abuses besides.” He also states, that, besides the first year’s income of the bishoprick expended on the church, he has “ since bestowed more, as forty pounds the last Summer for repairing the Steeple of the Cathedral, and this Summer six score pounds for to make a Bell, worth they say 200*l.*, and yet a thousand pounds more will not sufficiently repair that Church.”

A. D. 1661.
Seven Treatises,
&c., Prefatory
Remonstrance.

A. D. 1668.
The Persecu-
tion and Op-
pression, &c.
Id., p. 17.

At the 11th of October, in this year, the following entry appears on the Book of the Corporation of Irishtown :—

“ This day agreed upon by the Portrive and Burgesses of Irishtowne that for the making up of the seat in S^t. Kennys church for the Portrive and Burgesses, and for other necessaries, That y^e Portrive and Burgesses shall pay each of them to the Portrive for the uses and ends aforesaid the sum of ten shillings each man.

A. D. 1661.
Second Book of
the Corporation
of Irishtown.

“ The names of them that did pay accordingly :—

Capt ⁿ Tho ^s Tomlins,	10 ^s	Rich. Sruyler,	10 ^s
Ensign George Lodge,	10 ^s	Josias Hadock,	10 ^s
Ffrancis Rowledge,	10 ^s	Tho ^s Dowly,	10 ^s
William Warren,	10 ^s	George Barton,	10 ^s
John Phillips,	10 ^s	Edw ^d Hide,	10 ^s
Barth. Connor,	10 ^s	Dannell Redman,	10 ^s

In another tract, from the prolific pen of the bishop, “ The sad condition of the Church and Clergy in the Diocess of *Ossory* ; and I fear not much better in all *Ireland*,” he writes :—“ Truly, I have done my best, beyond my ability, let *Demas* and the detractors say what they please, to repair the *Quire* of *St. Kenny*,” expending thereon “ above four hundred pounds.”

A. D. 1664.
The sad con-
dition, &c., p. 6.

Id., p. 28.

A. D. 1671.
Chapter Book,
A., p. 19.

The Chapter made some small repairs of the chancel, and provided a chest for the Chapter Room, for which latter they paid £1 3s. 7d.

A. D. 1672.
Id., p. 2.

On the 29th of December, John Parry, Bishop of Ossory, entered, on behalf of the Dean and Chapter, into an agreement with Mr. Bartholomew Connor, "to uphold, maintain, and repair, and keep all the timber and carpenter's work of the several roofs of the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilk''," for twenty-one years, at 20s. sterling per annum; for the due performance of which a bond of £100 was entered into by Connor.

A. D. 1672.
Id., p. 3.

On the 2nd of April the Dean and Chapter paid £10 as their proportion towards roofing and slating St. Mary's Chapel, which had, no doubt, remained in a dilapidated condition since the cathedral had been ruined during the Cromwellian occupation. It is probable, from the fact of the Dean and Chapter paying a proportion only of the expense, that the parish of St. Canice was assessed for the remainder, and that St. Mary's Chapel still, as on former occasions, served for the Parish Church.

A. D. 1678.
Id., p. 5.

Amongst certain accounts entered in the Chapter Books under the 21st of May, in this year, are the following items:—

	£	s.	d.
April y ^e 12th, payed to the glaziers,	2	5	0
Itm, for y ^e table, forms, and frame in y ^e Chapter house,	1	8	0
Itm, to W ^m Trumball, glazier,	1	12	6
Itm, for the iron work for the church gates,	„	14	0
Itm to M ^r Logharne for two Common Prayer Books,	1	9	0
Itm, for taking away part of the rubbish out of y ^e church,	„	4	0
Itm, for lime, sand, bricks, and paving the church,	3	15	0
Itm, for making up the north door of the church, which was thoroughly broken by high winds, and a great bar and other small work in the Chapter house,	„	16	0
Itm, for the Iron work and mason's work about putting up the great hooks and hinges on the great gates,	1	0	0
Itm, for the church new style,	12	0	0

From the charge here made for "taking away part of the rubbish out of the church," it would appear that it was still far from being in good repair, although Bishop Williams had done so much for it. The table and chest before mentioned are still extant: they are of oak.

May 3rd. John Soyer, bricklayer, entered into articles of agreement with the Dean and Chapter to lay flags "from the west door of the body of the said Cathedral, unto the Bellfry, and from the north door to the south door in the same manner, and from the little north door to the bellfry, and reset the flags under the bellfry, and clear the body of the church from rubbish," for £30, to be paid in three gales. A. D. 1673.
Id., p. 21.

At the 3rd of October in the same year, the following entry occurs in the books of the Corporation of Kilkenny :—

"Then Agreed upon that y^e sume of Ten pounds sterling be paid towards y^e building upp a large Seate in St. Kennes church Kilkenny, for y^e Maior, Aldermen, & Common Councill men, in such decent & fitting manner as y^e rest of y^e seates are: fifty shillings whereof is allredy upon y^e acct. of Painting." *White Book.*

On the 9th of October in this year, the Dean and Chapter agreed to give £9 towards a sum of £23, which Bishop John Parry proposed to collect, "towards raising, and making up anew the Deans, Dignitaries, and Prebends stalls in the chancel of the Cathedral of St. Canice." *Chapter Book,*
A., p. 27.

On the 6th of May in this year "it was ordered that Mr. Dean [Benjamin Parry, afterwards Bishop of Ossory] do agree with Owen Jenkins and W^m Hyland for plastering and whitening the whole Cathedral Church, Chappells, and Iles, except the Chancell, and for stopping up the south window of St. Mary's Chappell." By the articles of agreement for the above, "Imprimis it is concluded, &c., that the said Owen Jenkins and W^m Hyland shall for the consideration^a hereafter expressed, sufficiently picke, plaster, and whitewash, without clay, all the Iles and body and pillars of the church, all St. Mary's chappell, vestry, and outland passage, at present uncovered; also all the windows, and to point the same, all the whole Cathedral church (except the Quire) . . . as also to stop up the great south window in St. Mary's chappell within 14 days from the date hereof"^b. A. D. 1674.
Id., p. 35.
Id., p. 36.

^a The sum of £15, and a lease for forty years of the "great stone House" adjoining St. Canice's steps on the west side, at one shilling a year over and above all taxes and charges.—*Chapter Book, A.*, pp. 28, 35.

^b Harris, who appears to have been ignorant

of the above entry in the Chapter Books, says that "all the Marble Pillars of the Nave have, not many Years since, been, by I know not what stupidity, plaistered and white-washed, and the beauty of them greatly injured."—*Ware*, vol. i., p. 434. Common fame, which even Harris's

Id., p. 40.

On September 6th. William Yarwood, carpenter, petitioned the Chapter for £32 5s., above the sum agreed to be paid for building the galleries and seats in the chancel of St. Canice, on account of his making an addition to the said works not contracted for.

Id., p. 59.

The ensuing disbursements appear amongst the accounts of this year:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid to M ^r Barron for painting stalls,	2	10	0
„ to Walter Barry for Bell mettall for the use of the Bells,	6	8	4
„ to Tho ^s Barry for iron work for the Tenor,	8	18	0
„ to M ^r Rothe for block Tin for the use of the Bells,	6	12	10
„ for the Kings L ^r e for mettall for the Bells,	7	0	0
Spent going to Callan to get y ^e cract mettall for y ^e use of y ^e Bells,		2	6
Paid to Dan ^l Connel for Bell mettall for use of said bells,	5	7	0
Spent twice going to Durrow for timber for y ^e frame of y ^e bells,		5	6
Paid to M ^r Marshall for tymber for y ^e bell frames,	2	0	0
„ for putting the bars into the church windows,	1	10	0
„ for lead for said work,		5	6
„ to the Glaziers in part for new glazing the church,	12	10	0

The following letter, addressed by Bishop Parry to the mayor and aldermen, is preserved amongst the Haydock papers in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle:—

“ S^rs

“ I finde his Grace y^e Duke of Ormond to be very desirous that y^e designed Ornam^t of this Citty (a Ring of bells) should be perfected, by whose interposal we hope to be furnished with some metal from Callan for y^e present, his Grace hath been also pleas^d to promise nobly an hundred pound toward that service; and it is now y^t this opertunity may be made use of or never to compleat that designe; and that you may understande the

statement proves to be erroneous, lays to the charge of Bishop Poccocke the whitewashing of the carved stone work of the cathedral: the quotation from the Chapter Books, if further proof were necessary, gives a date which is long anterior to his time; and it is probable that the whitewashing of 1674 was not the first opera-

tion of the kind which the church underwent. Many of our ruined abbeys which have lain unroofed since the reign of Henry VIII. show evident traces of whitewash. In truth our old ecclesiastics disliked the cold surface of the stone, and when they could not paint it, they used plaster or whitewash.

charge of the two bells already cast, and that neither my selfe or y^e Dean & Chapter have been behinde hande to our power towards the work, I have subjoynd a brief of acc^{ts} past, whereby also you may have a prospect of y^e future expenses. S^r, I do desire you may take a speedy course that w^t is already subscribed in y^e citty and country, as also w^t new subscription may had, may by y^r assistance & favour be procured, & the mony thereof payd unto the bearer hereof M^r William Cooke, whome I do hereby appoynt to receive y^r sume. I must desire also y^t y^e Companies may be call'd together that they may bring in w^t was promisd & designed from them, & if all of y^m be pleas'd to act heerin I doubt not, by Gods blessing, but that agst Christmass next all may be finished. Thus desiring y^r effectual promoting heereof (which may prove a standing ornam^t for ever to this place) I rest

“ Y^r loving ffrend & humble Ser^{vt},

“ JOHN: OSSORY.

8ber 13. 1674.

The Charge of y ^e 2 bells allready cast:—	<i>li. s. d.</i>
Disburst by M ^r Cooke in severall materialls,	021:17:06
Disburst more for blockt Tinn, Iron work, mettall, &c.,	038:14:10
For castinge & other expenses to y ^e Bellfounders,	037:18:06
Totall,	<u>098:10:10</u>

Towards y^e paym^t whereof rec^d these sumes:—
 ffrom y^e Roman Catholicks by M^r Rafter, &c., 5^{li}, besides
 5^{li} expended for bricke, &c., 005:00:00
 ffrom M^r Cooke & M^r Blott by Citty & Contry subscrip-
 tions, 017:17:00
 Payd by y^e Bp^pe & Deane & Chapter, 075:13:10
 besides 20^o weight in metall worth 4^{li}:13^s:4^d: p cent',
 which comes to 93^{li}:13^s:04^d ster'. which was p^o cured
 & discharged by y^e Bp^pe, Deane, & Chapter.

The charge of y^e 4 bells to be cast:—
 ffor 20^o weight of mettall, besides what can be had from
 Callan, Gowran, &c., will come to 093:13:04
 ffor blockt Tinne, 012:00:00
 ffor Iron worke Tymber & y^e frame, 070:00:00
 ffor casting y^e 4 bells, 050:00:00

225:13:04

Addressed:—

“ ffor y^e Mayor, Aldermen, & Co^mon Council of Kilkenny. These.”

Indorsed in the mayor, Josias Haydock's, hand:—

“ Bp. of Ossory, about the bells. Octob. 13, 1674.”

H

A. D. 1675.
White Book.

Harris's *Ware*,
vol. i., p. 428.

Some steps would seem to have been taken in consequence of this letter, as, at the 20th of April following, this entry appears on the Corporation Books of Kilkenny:—"The Masters of y^e Companijes are desired to assemble their Companijes, with all convenient speed, to finish & pfect their subscription for the Bells of St. Canice." From the bishop's own letter, together with this record, it would appear that Harris is not quite correct in his statement that Bishop Parry, "in 1675, at his own expense, furnished the Steeple of the Cathedral with a Ring of six Bells, amounting in weight to seventy hundred two quarters and five pounds; the charge of which, besides the price of the Metal, came to 24*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*" There can be little doubt, however, that the bishop defrayed the chief part of the expense. Two of these six bells were recast in 1724, and the remaining four in 1851. The four bells which came down to the present time bore legends in raised Roman capitals, which, with the size and weight of the bells, were as follows:—

No. 1. Height, 3 feet; diameter at mouth, 4 feet 1½ inches; weight, 21 cwt. 3 quarters; legend:—

JOH : PARRY : S : T : P : OSSORIENSI : EPISCOPO : PROCVRANTE : M : DCLXXV : D : O : M :
IMPERANTE : CAROLO : SECVNDO :

HVGONE : DRYSDAILE : ARCHIDIACONO : OSSORIENSI : NOS : FVDIT : ROGERVS : PVRDVE :
CVM : SOCIJS : A^o : DNI :^a

No. 2. Height, 2 feet 5 inches; diameter at mouth, 3 feet 1 inch; weight, 9 cwt. 26 lbs.; legend:—

R : P : W : C^b : ANNO : DOMINI : M : DC : LXXIV :

No. 3. Height, 2 feet 4½ inches; diameter at mouth, 2 feet 9 inches; weight, 7 cwt. 3 qrs.; legend:—

ROGERVS : PVRDVE : ET : GVLIELMVS : FVDERVNT : NOS : OMNE^c : 1674 :

^a The inscription, in raised Roman capitals, runs round the bell in two lines. The words ROGERVS PVRDVE have been nearly chiselled off, but are still legible. There seems to have been no room left for the date in the second line, which terminates as above. This bell was recast in 1851. The Purdues appear to have been inhabitants of Kilkenny, and the name has only become extinct there in the present generation.

^b The letters "R : P : W : C" stand for Robert Purdue and W. Covey, two of the "socii" or company of founders. This bell was recast in 1851.

^c This word would seem to form the commencement of the sentence "OMNE RESPIRANS LAVDET DOMINVM," for the remainder of which there was not room on the circumference of the bell. This bell was recast in 1851.

No. 4. Height, 2 feet 4 inches ; diameter at mouth, 2 feet 8½ inches ; weight, 7 cwt. 1 quarter and 10 lbs ; legend :—

FVDERE : G : COVEY : CVM : SOCTYS : A : D : M : DO : LXXIV : D : O : M : S : IN : VSVM :
 ECCLESIE : S : CANICI : KILKENIE :
 R : P : IOH : PARRY : S : T : D : TVNC : EPISCOPO : OSSOR : OMNE : RESPIRANS : LAVDET :
 DOMINVM : PSAL : CL : VERSV : VI :^a

These four bells ranked, as to size, in the peal of six belonging to the cathedral, as 1, 4, 5, and 6^b. The inscriptions were copied from the old bells, and have been verified by rubbings.

At an assembly of the Corporation of Irishtown, held on the 14th of October in this year, it was ordered that the seat of the portrieve and burgesses of the Irishtown, in the cathedral church of St. Canice, should be “sufficiently repaired before y^e 23d of this instant”^c.

A. D. 1676.
Second Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

Bishop Parry, by his will dated the 19th of October in this year, bequeathed £100 “to buy Plate for the Cathedral of Kilkenny, as like as possible to the Plate of Christ-Church, Dublin.”

A. D. 1677.
Harris's Ware, vol. i., p. 429.

^a This bell was recast in 1851. In 1683 the following table of fees “for ringing the bells” appears on the Chapter Book, A., p. 88:—

Imprimis for toling to the grave, 1s. 0d. per hour.
 Itm for passing bell in day time, 1s. 0d. do.
 Itm for passing bell in night time, 2s. 0d. do.

In 1761 it was “ordered that the economist do pay W^m Watson for having instructed the new set of ringers of the Cathedral.”—*Chapter Book, A., p. 364.*

^b It is probable that the bell, which Bishop Williams had put up, was recast at this period. It had been originally composed of the metal of two broken bells of St. Mary's Church, which he bought from the churchwardens of that parish at 15d. per lb., but which, he says, the skilful in the art rated only as worth 10d. per lb. The bishop complains of unkind and discourteous treatment on the part of the churchwardens, and says the bell cost him £154.—*A Small Part of the Great Wickedness, &c., p. 28.*

^c On the 26th of May, 1680, the sum of 5s. was paid by the town treasurer of the Corporation of Irishtown, “for repairing the Portrieve's seat in St. Canice's Church.”—*Second Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.* And from the same record we take the following—“List of all the Burgesses, &c., that paid the money towards the repair of the Portriffs & Burgesses seat in the Cathedral, according to the [order] of 11th Octo^r 1684:—

Mr. Portriffe,	4 ^s 6 ^d
Alderman Tovey,	4 ^s 6 ^d
Rob ^t French, Burgess,	4 ^s 6 ^d
Rob ^t Scarborough,	4 ^s 6 ^d
John French,	4 ^s 6 ^d
Richard Williams,	4 ^s 6 ^d
John Murphy,	4 ^s 6 ^d
Walter Bishopp,	4 ^s 6 ^d
Lieutenant Peter Bulkley,	4 ^s 6 ^d
Henry Bradish,	4 ^s 6 ^d
Bryan Brown,	4 ^s 6 ^d

Thomas Otway, who succeeded to the see in 1679, was also a benefactor to the cathedral. The Chapter Book has on record the following:—

A. D. 1684.
Chapter Book,
A, p. 89.

“Memorandum that on the day and year aforesaid (July 23rd 1684) the R^t Rev^d Father in God, Tho^s Otway, delivered to the said Dean and Chapter, for the use of the Cathedral Church for ever, as a free gift, these following pieces of gilt plate, viz:—

	Ounces.	Penny w ^{ts} .
Two servers ^a , weight,	51	15
Two communion cups ^b ,	}	120
Two Covers,		
Two Plates,		
One large Flagon,	95	0
One other large Flagon,	96	0

Also, presented by the Dean, D^r J. Pooley,—

One large basin ^c , weight,	61	2
--	----	---

These donations form the present stock of plate belonging to the cathedral: of these, the two large flagons, the two servers, and large basin or alms-dish, are alike in pattern, being embossed in low relief with cherubim. The basin bears the following inscription:—“Ex dono Joh: Pooley Dec: S^{ca} Canic: Kilken: anno 1684.” The two chalices, or “communion cups,” with their “covers” or patens, are of a much more elegant pattern and earlier date. The two “plates” are devoid of ornament. Harris thus records Bishop Otway’s gift:—

Harris’s *Ware*,
vol. i., p. 481.

“On the twenty fourth of *July* 1684 he made a present of gilded Plate to the Dean and Chapter for the use of the Cathedral, to the amount of 363 oz. 5 pwt; for which Donation the Dean and Chapter in a Body gave him solemn Thanks, and entered the same on their Chapter-Books to preserve the Memory of the benefaction to perpetuity. The greatest part of this Plate did belong to *Christ-Church, Dublin*; but the Dean and Chapter of that Church bought new Plate on the 18th of *December* 1683, and sold this to Dr. *John Pooley*, then Dean of *Ossory*, at 5^s 6^d per Ounce, for the use of the Cathedral of *Kilkenny*; and on the 8th of *February* following this Bishop paid 116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for it; of which there are Entries in the Chapter Books of *Christ-Church*.”

^a They bear the London assay mark for 1662, viz.: “leopard’s head crowned, lion passant, &c.”

^b These chalices, with their covers, bear the London assay mark for 1635, same as above,

with the letter *f* in a scutcheon.

^c It bears the Dublin assay mark, subsequent to 1638, viz.: “harp crowned, *f* in a scutcheon.” The flagons show no assay mark.

Otway is also said by Harris to have “beautified and compass-cieled” the chancel of his cathedral; the communion table of which he also railed in, and covered it with a rich cloth. During his incumbency it was agreed by the chapter,—

“That a new Throne be erected for the L^d B^p of Ossory, towards which every Dignitary is to pay 30^s, and M^r Dean double, and every Prebend [sic] 20^s.” *Chapter Book, A., p. 90.*

Harris, speaking of the chancel as it appeared in 1739, gives us some idea of the *improvements* above recorded:—

“The Choir hath nothing famous in it with respect to Seats; except a fine old Seat belonging to the *Ormond* Family. The Compass-Cieling of the Choir is chiefly remarkable for its fine Fret-work; in which are a great number of curious Modillions; and in the Center a Groupe of Foliage, Festoons, and Cherubins, that excels any thing of the kind I have seen.” *Harris's Ware, vol. I., p. 434.*

This bishop also erected an organ in his cathedral.

Id., p. 431.

The following entry appears on the Chapter Books, under the 20th of September in this year:—

“Whereas there is not any Coach-way from the City of Kilkenny to the Cathedral, but a tedious way through the Butts, or by the Dean's sufferance thro' his yard, ordered that a convenient Coach-way be forth with made from Dean-street in Irishtown to the south door of s^d Cathedrall, for the convenience of the Duke of Ormond's Family and other persons of quality resorting to the said church.” *Chapter Book, A., p. 102.*

This approach is still used, and known as “the Coach Road.”

On the 27th of May in this year, £15 was given for works in St. Canice's cathedral by the Corporation of Kilkenny. *A. D. 1701. Clasp'd Book.*

The Chapter Books supply us with the information that there was a project set on foot at this period to raise the central tower of the cathedral, and “beautify” the round tower. John Pooley, a benefactor to the see whilst Dean of Ossory (see previous page) had not forgotten his former church, although raised successively to the sees of Cloyne and Raphoe; for on the 5th of February it is recorded that—

“Whereas all acc^{ts} being ended between the Dean and Chapter and the R^t Rev^d John Lord B^p of Raphoe, late Dean of the said Cathedral and Proctor; his L^dship having been

pleased to bestowe the sune of £120 stg. for coping, repairing, and beautifying the round Tower, and towards the raising the steeple of the said Cath' Church 30 feet higher in stone work, ordered that an entry be made of the same on the chapter books, and that this inscription be made on some convenient stone of y^c said round Tower:—

“ RESTAURAT' IMPENS' JO. POOLEY
OLIM DECANI, NUNC EPI RAPOTENS'.”

Neither of these objects was ever effected^a; and perhaps it is fortunate that the belfry and round tower were not subjected to the deterioration which the condition of architectural taste at the period would have entailed on them, if the good intentions of Bishop Pooley had been carried out. There is no trace of the proposed inscription on the round tower.

A. D. 1710.
Chapter Book,
A, p. 182.

The rectory of Rathkyran was let to Mr. Thomas Bulkley at £12 per annum, “ he giving a table cloath of red broad cloath for the chapter house table.”

A. D. 1712.
Id., p. 156.
Harris's Ware,
vol. i., p. 484.

A new organ, built by John Baptist Cuvillie, was erected this year in the cathedral. Harris describes it as “ a neat set of Organs,” and “ a great Ornament to the Choir.”

A. D. 1717.
Chapter Book,
A, p. 176.

February the 4th, it was ordered that the chapter house be enclosed from the common passage of the stairs, so as to be made more private and convenient. From this entry it would appear that the old vaulted chapter room continued in use down to this period; the “ stairs” alluded to were, probably, those leading to some gallery in the choir, which seem to have been walled off from the old chapter house in pursuance of this order.

A. D. 1719.
Id., p. 179.

Ten shillings ordered to be paid to the widow of John Meoghan, “ in consideraçon of a fall he got from the belfree of which he dyed.”

A. D. 1722.
Id., p. 186.

It would seem that the chapter had not lost sight, as yet, of Bishop Pooley's intentions, for on the 7th of February in that year (1721 old style)—“ Mr. Dean having produced in Chapter several draughts of a dome to be

^a In addition to the gift above recorded, the bishop at his death, in 1712, left another sum of £120, payable out of a bond due to him by Agmondisham Cuffe, all deficiencies to be supplied by his executors, to be applied “ towards raising the Steeple of St. Canic's Church in

Kilkenny, and to mend, dash, and point the Round Tower.”—*Harris's Ware*, vol. i., p. 282. This legacy does not appear to have been paid for some time, as, in 1717, the economist was ordered to file a bill in Chancery for its recovery.—*Chapter Book*, A, p. 176.

erected over y^e Belfry, drawn by Captain Portall, he is desired to write to him a letter of thanks, in the name of the body, for his pains taken herein."

And on the 6th of February (1722, old style)—"The Chancellor is requested to write to the Surveyor General to send down a person of sufficient skill in Architecture to view the steeple of the Cathedral, and to give his opinion what is necessary for the repair thereof; together with an estimate of the charge." A. D. 1723.
Id., p. 196.

This request would not appear to have been complied with, for on the 27th of June, in the same year, we find the "œconomist" empowered "to agree with proper workmen for the immediate and sufficient repair of the steeple, bellfry, and battlements of the church *in their present form.*" *Id.*, p. 199.

The Earl of Arran (brother to the exiled Duke of Ormonde) gave £60 for the repair of the cathedral. A. D. 1724.
Id., p. 232.

On the 23rd of June, in this year, an agreement was entered into by the dean and chapter with Mr. Joshua Kipling, bell-founder, for new casting the fourth and fifth bells belonging to the cathedral, at £1 10s. 0d. per hundred weight; and the vicar and parishioners of St. John's were asked to contribute a broken bell belonging to that church, a new bell being provided for them. Subsequently a certificate was ordered to be given to Joshua Kipling, to the effect that he had performed his work skilfully. These two bells were again recast in 1851. Their size, weight, and the legends they bore, were as follows:— A. D. 1724.
Id., p. 228.

No. 1. Height, 2 feet 9 inches; diameter at mouth, 3 feet 7½ inches; weight, 13 cwt.; legend:—

"THO. VESEY. BAR^{TO}. EPISC. OSSOR.

ROB. MOSSOM. S. T. D. DECANO. IOSHVA. KIPLING. FVDIT. A. D. 1724."

No. 2. Height, 2 feet 4 inches; diameter at mouth, 3 feet 3 inches; weight, 10 cwt. 2 qrs.; legend:—

"THO. VESEY. BAR^{TO}. EPISC. OSSOR.

ROB. MOSSOM. DECANO. I. K. FVDIT. A. D. 1724."

The shingled roof of the belfry, taken down in 1851, was probably repaired about this time, as we find a resolution, 3rd June, 1724, "that the *shingles* of the steeple be primed." In 1742 upwards of four tons of lead were expended on the roofs of the church. *Id.*, pp. 227,
288.

A. D. 1729.
Id., p. 251. On the 7th February (1728, old style), it was "ordered y^t y^e salary usually paid for taking care of y^e clock be immediately stopped, there being no clock or chimes."

A. D. 1748. A Tour in Ireland, published about this period, thus describes the state of the cathedral before Bishop Pococke began his repairs:—

A Tour in Ireland by Two English Gentlemen, 2nd ed. Dublin, 1748, pp. 176, 177, 178. "The choir is very beautiful, and the Ceiling adorned with curious Fret-work. The Stalls are composed of Wood, but very well ornamented; and the Rays of the Sun, painted over the Communion-Table, seem as if they gave Light to the Whole. The Organ is a very fine Instrument. . . . In short . . . it is a noble pile of Gothic Building, and the whole Fabrick, within and without, is kept in exact Repair. . . . There is a Ring of tuneable Bells in the Tower of the Church, the first I have heard in this Kingdom."

A. D., 1755.
Chapter Book, A, p. 330. By an entry on the Chapter Books, dated June 12th, in this year, it was ordered that "The Chapel in the *North Isle*" should be forthwith fitted up for a chapter house, "by flooring thereof, making a chimney therein, and stopping up the arch over it. By "the north isle," perhaps, is meant the north transept, as there is no chapel, nor trace of any such having ever existed, in the north side aisle; notwithstanding that Ware makes Bishop O'Hedian be buried (A. D. 1497) "in quadam capella juxta portam occidentalem ecclesie cathedralis." The project does not seem to have been carried out, as we find an order to fit up a new chapter house (probably that now serving as such, in St. Mary's Chapel), dated the 11th June, in the following year.

Hibern. Sacra, p. 147. "Bishop Pococke," promoted to this see in 1756, found his cathedral, says Ledwich, "in a most ruinous condition, being totally neglected by his predecessors*: its galleries decaying, its roof tumbling down, its monuments broken, and scattered about." This prelate was, however, scarcely installed, when he commenced the work of renovation. By an entry in the Chapter Books, of the 11th June, 1756, we learn that the bishop having communicated to the dean and chapter a design for improving and adorning the inside of the choir, his lordship having subscribed fifty guineas, the thanks of that body were voted to him. And, on the 30th of July following, they agreed to give thirty guineas annually until the work was completed.

A. D. 1756.
Antiquit., p. 391.

Chapter Book, A, p. 335.

Id., *ib.*

* From the facts given above, this assertion that the writer previously quoted, a passing tourist, did not examine the fabric very closely, cannot be strictly true. It is possible, however,

“ With that love of religion and decency,” writes Ledwich, “ which strongly marked his character, he zealously set about its [the cathedral’s] reparation: he warmly solicited subscriptions: purchased every necessary material at the best rate: in person superintended the workmen, and that often from four o’clock in the morning: beautified and adorned it throughout, and left a memorial of his piety and regard for his episcopal church, which the city of Kilkenny, and the diocese of Ossory, still gratefully remember.” *Antiquit.*, p. 891.

From this panegyric of Ledwich’s no right-minded person will dissent, and if the discriminating eye discovers many solecisms and incongruities in the works and repairs which Bishop Pococke effected, it must be remembered that they were the faults not so much of the man as of the age; and that, probably, but for him this venerable cathedral would now be a ruin*. Had he lived in our day, his appreciation of the architecture of the building would, no doubt, put to shame the apathy of those, who, while they see without regret the decay of the fabric, look with coldness on every suggestion which does not originate from themselves.

The choir was, at this period, fitted up as it now appears. The episcopal throne, prebendal stalls, galleries, pews, &c., are all of a fine dark-grained oak, but, being carved in the Ionic style, there is a sad want of harmony between them and the architecture of the fabric. We find by an entry on the Chapter Books (A. D. 1762) that the bishop was permitted to dispose of the materials of the “ old choir” as he should think fit: but as these had been put up subsequently to the Restoration, it is probable their loss is not much to be deplored. *Chapter Book, A.*, p. 378.

We learn from the Chapter Books that Pococke did not confine himself to the remodelling of the choir; he also built a colonnade reaching from the north transept door to the palace garden; by an entry in the Chapter Books we find that this work was not commenced until after 30th May, 1758, on which day permission was granted to the bishop to erect it. This colonnade is a handsome structure, in the Grecian Doric style, but it completely disfigures the gable of the north transept, very much concealing the fine door from view, and hiding the lower part of the windows by its roof; indeed Pococke, whether from want of funds to defray the cost of glazing them, or from want of taste to appreciate A. D. 1758. *Id.*, p. 347.

* The Dean and Chapter of St. Canice, in voting they owed him “ almost the very being of our cathedral.”—*Chapter Book, A.*, page 393.

the beautiful proportions of the original design, shortened all the principal windows considerably. Thus, at the 4th of September, the following entry appears on the Chapter Books :—

Id., p. 369. “Whereas the bishop has undertaken the direction of putting the cathedral into order, and designs to shut up some of the windows and open others—It is ordered, that his lordship make such alterations in the windows, at his own expense, as he chooses.”

Shee's St. Canice, p. 42. The parish church, a chapel within the cathedral, owes its repair to the same excellent prelate, by whom also the remaining fragments of the early stained glass were collected and placed in the great west window, where they remained, until removed some years since. The ancient monumental effigies and inscribed tombs, some of which Harris saw piled up in the chapel adjoining the chancel on the north, were by Pococke's orders collected, repaired, and arranged, though not all in their original position, or with much care or accuracy; and he employed John O'Phelan—“a learned and ingenious man,” who at that time kept a school in Kilkenny, where he taught the Greek, Latin, Irish, and English languages—to copy all the inscriptions existing^a. Bishop Pococke intended also, it is said, to raise the belfry some feet higher than it is at present, but was deterred by the adverse opinion of the architect consulted by him, who pronounced it to be unsafe to do so,—there can be little doubt, however, that these fears were unfounded. This prelate also covered the communion table

Id., p. 11. with purple velvet, richly embroidered with gold lace, and placed over it the painting of a Glory brought by him from Italy, which still remains. He erected, in the south transept, a place for his Consistorial Court, the material of which is of panelled oak; this has, not many years since, been removed to St. Mary's Chapel, where it now stands. In the Chapter Room the inscription, here given, is engraved on a stone set over the fireplace and surmounted by a Gothic moulding taken from

Id., p. 42. some other part of the cathedral.

Ledwich's An-quit., p. 389.

HANC
BASILICAM
VETUSTATE
LABESCENTEM
RESTITUERUNT
ORNABUNT
OSSORIENSES
ANNO
MDCCLXIII.

By a black marble slab set in the wall of the north transept, it appears that

^a O'Phelan made two copies of this MS.; the original was kept by Pococke, and is not now known to exist. Ledwich seems, however, to have used it for his work, and it may have been lost with his other papers. The other copy was

purchased from O'Phelan, “for a trifling consideration,” by Mr. Henry Shee, of Irishtown, and from it was printed, by Dr. Peter Shee, the “Inscriptions on the Tombs in St. Canice.” This MS. is now *penes auctorem*.

the subscriptions collected by Bishop Pococke, on his first setting about the work of restoration, were very considerable. This record, never having been accurately printed, deserves to be preserved, and is as follows :—

BENEFACTORS

FOR ADORNING THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. CANICE, 1756.

REPRESENTATIVES.	GUINEAS.	GUINEAS.	GUINEAS.
ELAND MOSSOM, Esq ^r .	100	EARL OF OSSORY,	20
THOMAS WAITE, Esq ^r .	100	EARL OF WANDSFORD,	12
		L ^d VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRETT,	20
		L ^d VISCOUNT CHARLEMONT,	14
		L ^d VISCOUNT ASHBROOK,	20
			D ^r POCOCKE, BISHOP OF OS-
			SORY,
			100
			DEAN AND CHAPTER OF S ^t
			CANICE,
			252
			MEMBERS OF THE CHAPTER OF
			S ^t CANICE.
			I. LEWIS, DEAN,
			80
			D ^r DAWSON, CHANTOR,
			15
			R. COCKING, CHANCELLOR.
			10
			I. STANNARD, TREASURER,
			10
			[] ARCHDEACON,
			10
			R. STEWART, PREB.
			10
			W. CONNELL, PREB.
			6
			D ^r SANDFORD, PREB.
			15
			W. COCKBURN, A. M., PREB.
			20
			R. WATTS, A. M., PREB.
			10
			I. ALOOCK, D. D., PREB.
			10
			BURGESSES OF S ^t CANICE.
			R. DAWSON, Esq ^r .
			10
			D ^r HEWETSON,
			10
			E. MOSSOM, Esq ^r .
			10
			ANTONY BLUNT, Esq ^r .
			5
			N. MARTEN, A. M.
			20
			T. BURTON, A. M.
			20
			FREEMEN OF S ^t CANICE
			HUGH WARING, Esq ^r .
			5

On Sunday, October 2nd in this year, John Watters, Esq., Mayor of Kilkenny, “attended by the Sheriffs, Aldermen, Common-Councilmen, and City Regalia, went in procession from the Tholsel to the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, where an excellent sermon, suitable to the occasion, was preached by the Rev. Mervyn Archdall. The procession to and from the cathedral was preceded by a considerable number of the Charter-school boys, singing psalms through the streets with becoming decency and regularity.”

A. D. 1768.
Finn's *Leinster*
Journal.

It does not appear that the project, alluded to in the following extract from the Corporation Books of Kilkenny, was ever carried out :—

A. D. 1778.
*Corporation
Book.*

“ 30th October.—Ordered that the Worshipful the Mayor of this City do pay a visit to the Lord Bishop of Ossory & request the favour of his Lordship to Immediately Purchase and Erect in the Bellfry of St. Canice a Grand set of Bells befitting the Dignity of the antient and flourishing City of Kilkenny, at the expence of the Mayor & Citizens thereof. And that the Treasurer do pay his Lordship the Ballance of such sum as the same may amount to when the Sum raised by the Sale of the present set of Bells is first applied to that purpose.”

By an entry of the same date it was ordered :—

Id.

“ That the sum of Ten Pounds be paid yearly to M^r Richard Mekins Organist of S^t Canice, to Commence from the 29th day of Sep^r last in manner in which M^r Ximenes was paid his Sallary of Eight Pounds a year”^a.

A. D. 1778.

The author of a tour, published in this year, gives us the following quaint peep at the cathedral and its congregation :—

*Trip to Kil-
kenny, pp. 158,
154.*

“ The Cathedral, in the Whole, is not beautiful; it has Neatness, but is destitute of Grandeur. The Service began at eleven o’Clock, and ended at one. The Organ is a pretty good One; on the Side of it, in the same Gallery, six or eight Boys were sitting with Surplices on—some of them with neither Stocking nor Shoe on—they sung Sternhold and Hopkins to the Magdalen-chapel Tunes. The congregation was remarkably small, and in general paltry. I noticed some Handicrafts with their Aprons tied about them, and others that had them tucked up by a corner.”

A. D. 1795.
*Shee’s St. Ca-
nice, p. 11.*

The nave was re-roofed at the expense of the Chapter in this year, and during the incumbency of Bishop Hamilton the doors and windows of the entire church were renewed.

A. D. 1827.
Chapter Book.
A. D. 1830.
Chapter Book.

The chancel was new slated at a cost of £227 7s. 6d.

A contract was entered into with Mr. John Shaw to re-roof the north and south transepts and Chapter Room. At this period the Consistorial Court was removed from the south transept to St. Mary’s Chapel.

A. D. 1843.

The Rev. Charles Vignoles, D. D., was installed as Dean, and immediately commenced a series of most important improvements in the cathedral and ceme-

^a The liberality of the Corporation of Kilkenny did not, however, last long, as appears by the following entries :—

“ 21st January 1775—That Rich^d Hobbs organist of S^t Mary’s do have the same sallary paid

to him half yearly as is paid the organist of S^t Canice, commencing 29th Sept^r last.”

“ That the sum of £10 formerly ordered to Rich^d Mekins organist of S^t Canice by the City, be from this day discontinued.”

tery. From his own purse, aided by some subscriptions, he defrayed the cost of removing the accumulated coatings of whitewash from the arches and pillars of the nave. The greater part of the windows were restored to their original proportions, the unsightly masses of stone-work which blocked them up being removed, and glass inserted where required. Externally, the earth and rubbish, which had accumulated to the height of several feet above the original ground-line of the structure, were removed, and the original proportions of the church thus restored; whilst at the same time the future stability of the building was insured by permitting the walls to dry, and allowing the drip from the eaves to run off. In the course of the excavation a large quantity of the broken glass and leads, which originally belonged to the windows put up by De Ledrede, were discovered beneath the north lancets of the chancel, and several specimens of the original flooring tiles of the church were turned up. The external base of the round tower was also uncovered; its floors were restored, and connected by means of step-ladders, all of substantial timber. Many other improvements were effected, amongst which we may mention the re-establishment of the choral service and repairing of the organ.

The parish church, a chapel off the north transept, having been in a very dilapidated condition for many years, was put into thorough repair by the Chapter. The roof was raised to its original pitch, and the windows refitted with cast-iron sashes. The unsightly screen which closed up the arch communicating with the north transept was removed at the same time.

A. D. 1850.
Chapter Book.

The old, shingled, spire-shaped roof, which, surmounted by its weathercock, was so long associated in the minds of the people of Kilkenny with the cathedral, and was probably the work of Bishop Williams, was taken down, the Chapter having entered into a contract to remove it, lower the bells to the nave, and erect a new bell-frame of oak, with new floor, and roof, at a cost of £300. The bell-story does not now show above the battlements of the tower.

A. D. 1851.
Chapter Book.

The tenor having been cracked, and some others of the bells injured, the Chapter contracted, at this period, with Mr. Thomas Hodges, of Middle Abbey-street, Dublin, to recast four of the bells, and supply stocks of oak, *ra* wheels, and ropes, for the sum of £185. Subsequently, from the impossibility of bringing the old bells into tune, the remaining two were recast,—the entire cost being £301 2s. The legends borne by the old bells were reproduced

on the upper portion of the new ones, whilst round the lower rim there was added, in raised Roman capitals, the following inscription:—

“ JACOBO . THOMA . O BRIEN . EPISCOPO . CAROLO . VIGNOLES . S . T . P . DECANO . CRIN . IRWIN . A . M .
ARCHIDIACONO . THOMAS . HODGES . DE . NOVO . FVDIT . VICTORIA . REGINA . A . D . 1851 .”

The weights and notes of the new bells, as here given, have been supplied by Mr. Charles Bolger, foreman to Mr. Hodges, under whose superintendence the casting was effected:—

	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.			Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	
Tenor, . . .	22	2	19	Note E	Fourth, . . .	9	2	0	Note A
Second, . . .	15	3	10	„ F#	Fifth, . . .	7	3	24	„ B
Third, . . .	12	2	0	„ G#	Sixth, . . .	6	3	24	„ C#

The new bells are good specimens of loam casting, and are, perhaps, the most musical peal of their size in Ireland. Previously to their removal from Dublin they were examined by many gentlemen skilled in such matters, and finally by Dr. Stewart, and pronounced to be in perfect tune. The first peal was rung out from the new bells, by the ringers of Christ Church, Dublin, on the night of the 5th of April, 1853; next day, at 5 A. M., the pealing again commenced, and continued at intervals during the day. From the difficulty, however, of procuring instruction for the ringers, the practice has been discontinued, the bells being now chimed by ropes attached to the tongues; and by a very ingenious contrivance one person is enabled to chime any number of changes which the bells are capable of, and even play simple tunes on them. The novelty of such music at the time inspired several of the local versifiers,—the following stanzas are, perhaps, worthy of being preserved* :—

A. D. 1853.

“ O'er the startl'd city,
As in the olden times,
Bursts forth the joyful music
Of the gray cathedral's chimes.
Beneath, from abbey towers,
The gladsome echo swells—
Their silenc'd choirs awaken
To the clangour of the bells.
The river bears that music
Along its waters gray—

The chimes awake the echoes
O'er wood and hill-side gay;
They are heard in rural places,
Like fairy tinklings clear
They swell, in loudest changes,
O'er the fields and gardens near.
Old men and youths are list'ning
To their soft melodious spells,
And maiden's eyes are glistening
At the pealing of the bells.”

* These lines are from a poem written by Mr. Paris Anderson.

The old organ having defied all efforts at repair or improvement, the Chapter, on the 19th of September in this year, purchased from Bevington and Sons, of London, organ builders, the organ built by them, and at that time standing in the eastern gallery of the Great Exhibition Building, Dublin. The total cost, including the setting up of the organ in the cathedral, was £600^a. Accordingly, the chancel arch, which for many generations had been closed up with masonry, was opened, and a platform erected (at a cost of £24) on the site of the old rood loft,—on this platform the new organ was placed. This fine instrument was first used, with full choral service, on Sunday, January 15, 1854, and its capabilities may be estimated from the following detailed account of the various stops :—

A. D. 1853.
Chapter Book.

A. D. 1854.

GREAT ORGAN (CC to F).

Open Diapason, No. 1.	Fifteenth.
Open Diapason, No. 2.	Sesquialtern, 3 ranks.
Stopped Diapason, and Claribel.	Mixture, 2 ranks.
Principal.	Trumpet.
Twelfth.	Clarion.

CHOIR ORGAN (CC to F).

Bourdon (Bass).	Viol di Gamba (to Tenor C).
Double Diapason (Treble).	Principal.
Dulciana (to Tenor C).	Flute (to Tenor C).
Stopped Diapason (Bass).	Cremona.
Stopped Diapason (Treble).	

SWELL (to Tenor C).

Double Trumpet.	Principal.
Double Diapason.	Doublette.
Open Diapason.	Cornocean.
Stopped Diapason.	Clarion.

Thus the Great Organ contains 10 stops, comprising 702 pipes. The Choir Organ contains 9 stops, comprising 323 pipes. The Swell contains 8 stops, comprising 378 pipes. The Pedal Organ contains 1 stop, and a great open sixteen-foot Diapason—in all 27 pipes. There are 5 copulas for connecting the

^a A considerable portion of this sum was supplied by subscriptions.

benches of keys to each other, and three composition pedals ; forming a grand total of 32 stops and 1430 pipes.

A. D. 1854.
Chapter Book.

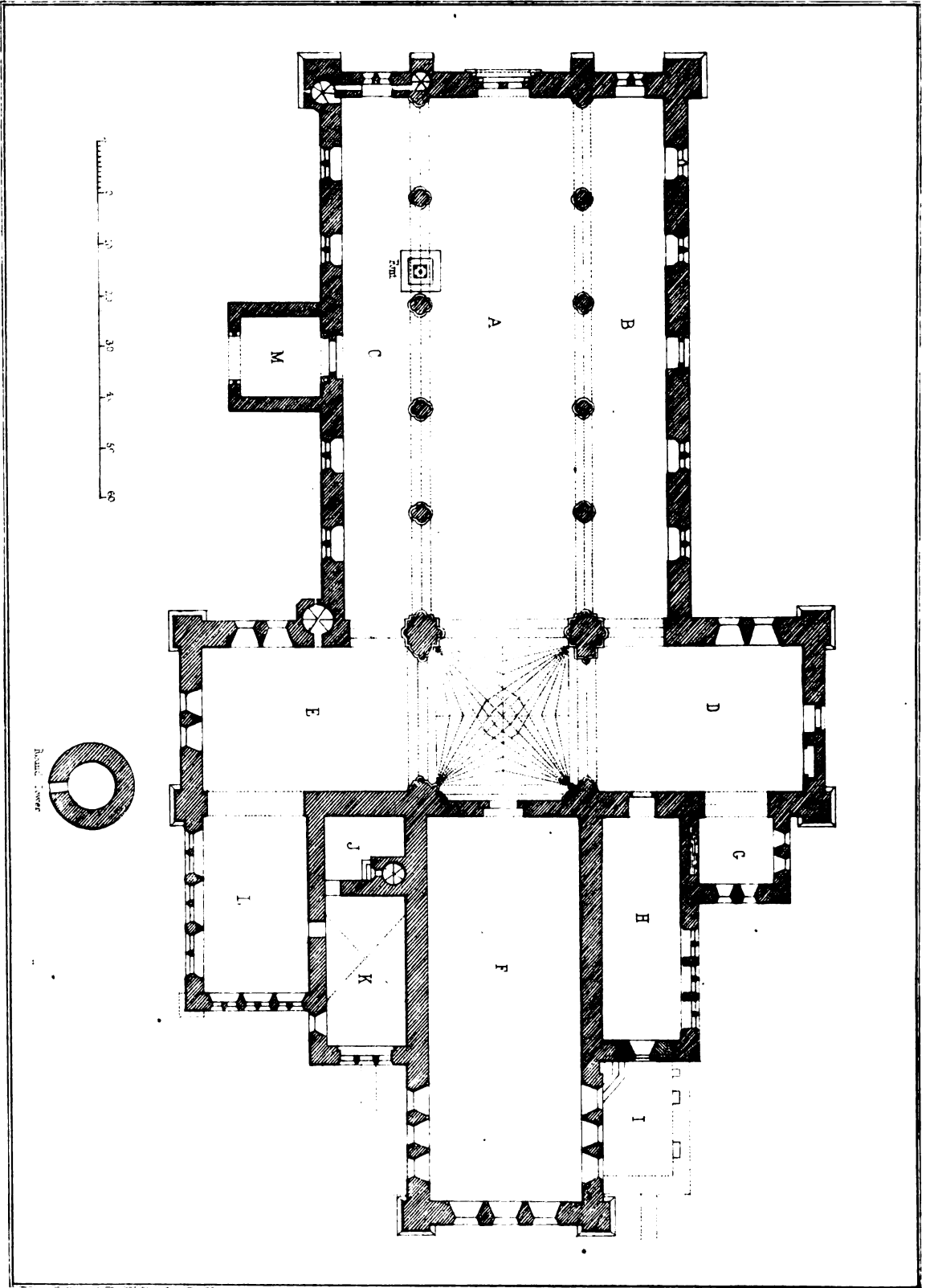
On the death of John Marquis of Ormonde, who had a short time previously removed the monuments of his ancestors into the south transept, space for a vault was granted to the Ormonde family there, for £20 fine on each interment, and the usual fees. The vault, wherein rest the bodies of many members of that noble race, lay, probably, beneath the choir ; but having been disused in consequence of the burial elsewhere of the great Duke of Ormonde, his son, the famous Earl of Ossory, and his grandsons, the second Duke of Ormonde and the Earl of Arran, by whose death without issue that line became extinct, the situation of the ancient family burial-place could not be discovered.

A. D. 1855.
Id.

In the April of this year it was ordered by the Chapter " that the last quatrefoil window on the north side of the nave of the cathedral be built up for the present, until the funds of the Chapter admit of its being put in new," which, for the credit of all concerned, it is to be hoped will soon be done.—
J. G.

PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL AND ROUND TOWER OF ST CANICE, KILKENNY.

Dublin: Engles, Smith & Co 104, Garden St.



CHAPTER III.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CATHEDRAL.

THE Early English style^a of Gothic architecture having been fully developed ere the Cathedral of St. Canice was commenced, and the germs of the lighter and more ornate, although not more elegant architectural fashion, aptly termed Decorated, not having made their appearance before its completion, the structure affords a good and chaste example of a pure and beautiful period. Although in Ireland the mother church of Ossory cannot, as a whole, be surpassed by any cathedral still remaining, and notwithstanding that a feeling, a finish, and an artistic perfection are apparent in the simplest of its moldings and sculptured ornaments, enough to challenge comparison with the most ornate buildings of the same date extant; yet it must be allowed that in size and splendour it is surpassed by many an English parish church. We do not, therefore, purpose to claim for our cathedral any importance beyond what it really possesses, but, ere we have done, we hope to show that it deserves the attention even of the architectural student who has revelled amidst the sublime beauties of the cathedrals of England.

The plan of the cathedral of St. Canice, as laid down in the accompanying plate, is that of a Latin cross, having chapels and other accessory buildings clustering north and south of the choir. The total length, from east to west, is 212 feet 3 inches; total breadth across transepts, 117 feet; total breadth of nave and side aisles, 63 feet 10 inches; the area of the vaulting of the tower is nearly 26 feet square. No very great accuracy appears to have been observed in laying down the plan for the masons, the measurements of any two corresponding parts rarely agreeing with each other. The internal

^a The distinctive terms of Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular, have been adopted in this work as the best known names of the successive developments of Gothic architecture.

dimensions of its principal parts, clear of the walls, are as follows—the letters having reference to the accompanying plan:—

- A. Nave; 107 feet, by 28 feet 3 inches.
- B. North side aisle; 107 feet, by 14 feet 7 inches.
- C. South side aisle; 107 feet, by 13 feet 8 inches.
- D. North transept; 38 feet 10 inches, by 28 feet 11 inches.
- E. South transept; 38 feet 8 inches, by 28 feet 10 inches.
- F. Choir; 73 feet 10 inches, by 28 feet 8 inches.
- G. Parish church; 17 feet 5 inches, by 14 feet 5 inches.
- H. North chapel; 48 feet 6 inches, by 15 feet 10 inches.
- I. Anchorite's cell; 22 feet 7 inches, by 14 feet.
- J. Open yard; 12 feet 8 inches, by 15 feet 11 inches.
- K. Ancient chapter house; 29 feet 8 inches, by 15 feet 11 inches.
- L. Lady chapel; 28 feet 7 inches, by 20 feet 8 inches.
- M. Porch; 15 feet 7 inches, by 15 feet 3 inches.

The only parts of the cathedral as to which any doubt of their original destination prevails are those marked H and L. By an error in the lettering of the plan given in Harris's *Ware*, the chapel adjoining the choir to the north, (H in the accompanying plan), is called St. Mary's chapel, whilst the chapel marked L is not designated further than as being the site of the consistorial court. That Harris is not answerable for the error of his engraver appears from the letter-press of his work. He alludes to both the chapels in question, and leaves no obscurity as to his meaning. Thus as to the north chapel (called St. Mary's chapel on his plan) he writes:—"Adjoining to the *North Cross* is a little place railed in, and set apart for a Parish Church; between which and the Choir is a *large nameless Apartment*, wherein are several curious old Monuments of Men in Armour, and other Stones which are parts of ancient Monuments, lying loose against the Wall." It is plain that if Harris had ever heard this portion of the cathedral called St. Mary's chapel, he would not have termed it *nameless*: but it further appears that he was well aware of the situation of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin. He thus lays it down:—"Adjoining to the *South Cross* is a large open space; where the Bishop's Consistory Court is held; between which, and the Choir is the Chapter House;" and, speaking of the monument of Bishop Roth, he describes it as existing "in the Consistorial

Vol. i., p. 397.

Harris's *Ware*,
vol. i., p. 434.

Ibid.

Id., p. 426.

Court of the Cathedral of Kilkenny, *antiently called St. Mary's Chappel.*" But had we no means of proving by Harris's own testimony that his plan has been erroneously lettered, the higher and earlier authority of the Chapter Books afford evidence that cannot be gainsayed. By an extract printed at p. 47, *supra*, we find certain persons contracting, in 1674, "to stop up the great south window in St. Mary's Chappel." Now as the chapel so called on Harris's plan is bounded by the choir on the south, it can have no *south window* at all; and as the portion of the Cathedral marked L on our plan, and at present occupied by the consistorial court and chapter room, is the only chapel which, by any possibility, could have a *great south window*, there can be no question that it was the ancient Lady Chapel; and its south window may well be termed "great," as it originally occupied nearly the entire length of the south wall, although at present the central compartment is closed up with masonry*, and the hood-moulding knocked off flush with the surface of the wall. If further evidence were required, the Chapter Books afford it in abundance; we shall, however, only cite the following. By an entry dated May 19th, 1687, it was agreed that the executors of Mrs. Frances Foulkes, on payment of £10 fine, shall have a grant "of the ground in St. Mary's Chappel where the said M^{rs} Foulkes monument is now built." The original site of the Foulkes' monument is shown by Harris's plan to have been in the chapel opening off the south transept, which is thus proved to be the ancient Lady Chapel.

Chapter Book,
A, p. 92.

The position of the ancient chapter house is determined by the passage from Harris, already quoted, to have been between the Lady Chapel and the choir.

Ware says, that Bishop O'Hedian was buried in a chapel near the west door of the cathedral, but unless we take the bishop's resting-place to have been totally unconnected with the main building, one must suppose that usually accurate writer to have been mistaken,—the most careful examination not having revealed any trace of connecting arch or doorway.

The foundations brought to light in 1845 have already been alluded to (see pp. 25 and 32, *supra*). They appear to have belonged to the nave of an earlier building, the chancel of which lay eastward of the present structure. These remains are indicated by the dotted lines north and south of the choir on the plan.

* Harris's View of the cathedral shows that up by the contractors in 1674 was confined to the the portion of "the great south window" built most eastern of the three compartments.

The tradition of Kilkenny has it, that there are extensive vaults beneath the cathedral; but, if so, they are as yet undiscovered. This tradition is connected in the popular mind with the vague idea of hidden treasure, and it is said that an archway was struck on some years since in digging a grave near the north side of the choir. We could not learn that any further exploration was attempted; it is probable, indeed, that no such discovery was ever made.

Perhaps this is the best place to quote a description of the cathedral written in the early part of the seventeenth century, probably by a native of Kilkenny, the learned David Roth, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory. It is a matter of great regret that the manuscript copies of the tract "De Ossoriensi Diœcesesi" preserved in the British Museum and the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, are imperfect, breaking off at the most interesting part of the writer's account of the cathedral. We give a translation, appending the original Latin as a note^a:—

"And that I may present to nearer view an actual representation of that munificent holiness, which had its birth in times of old, it will be permitted to take, at least, a hasty survey of the cathedral church, with its appurtenances and component parts, to the end that the faithful of our time may learn and admire the piety of their ancestors.

"Situation has its advantages in displaying the proportions and magnificence of a fabric; for a building which possesses a situation moderately lofty, and enjoys a free air, is

^a Atque ipsa ad umbrationem munificentiæ huius sanctitatis antiquitas inchoatæ propius intueri detur, fas mihi erit cathedralem Ecclesiam cum appendicibus et membris eius saltem perfunctione circumire; ut discant Orthodoxi nri et diligant pietatem suorum progenitorum.

Plurimum valet ipse loci positio ad considerandam fabricæ amplitudinem et magnificentiam; quæ etiam editiore situ et liberiore potitur aura, salubrior esse solet et splendidior. Itaque Ecclesia hæc S. Canici tum quod emineat in erectiori tumulto, tanquam excubitoria specula libere prospectans et civitatem modice subiectam, et amplè circumiectum territorium, tum quod structura solidissima e saxo sectili polito surgat ab imo fundamento, commendat se intuentibus eam propius. . . .

In aquilonari latere chori contigua muro exteriori Ecclesie hærebat cella anachoretica ex qua per fenestellam lapideam, quæ inibi posita erat in pariete ad dexterum cornu summi altaris, nempe a parte Evangelij, diuina mysteria dum peraguntur prospicere poterat inclusus Anachoreta. . . .

Ipse chorus Ecclesiæ S. Canici satis amplus est et splendidus, quem exornat mirificè vasta ab oriente fenestra, qua nescio an vspiam in toto hoc regno alia vlla vel capaciosior sit vel ornatior, duobus ordinibus columnarum e saxo viuo distincta, et vitro variegato pellucens, in qua scitissime depingitur historia totius vitæ, passionis, resurrectionis, et ascensionis Dominicæ. Cuius tanta et tam venusta est resplendentia, tantusque ornatus et decor, ut cum novelli iconoclastæ sub

wont to appear more exhilarating and beautiful. So this church of St. Canice, as well from its situation on a gentle eminence from whence, as from a watch-tower, it looks freely abroad on the city lying beneath, and wide-spread surrounding district, as well as because it rises from its foundation a structure of the most solid nature, composed of cut and polished stone, commends itself to the near beholder.

“ Adjoining the north side of the choir, and close to the external wall of the church, an anchorite's cell was attached, whence from an aperture in the wall near the right, or Gospel side, of the high altar the enclosed anchorite could behold the performance of the divine mysteries.

“ The choir of the church of St. Canice is ample and splendid enough, adorned by a wonderfully large eastern window, than which I know not of any, in all this kingdom, of greater size or more replete with ornament. It is divided by two piers furnished with columns of solid stone, and the light streams in through painted glass, on which is most skilfully depicted the history of the entire life, passion, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord. Such is the elegance and splendour of this work, so great is the ornament it affords to, and so much does it become the building, that when the new iconoclasts, who sprung up under King Edward, and again under his sister Elizabeth, offered violence to the holy images, and that shameless miscreant, John Bale, had broken and violated all he could find of the statues and effigies of the saints, nevertheless both he, and the other intrusive bishops after him, restrained their violent hands from these windows.

“ On the left side of the choir, as you enter, the bishop occupied an apse near the altar, elevated on steps of hewn stone. Then the minor prelates, separated by a short space, had their stalls in the circuit of the presbytery, each according to their dignity,—the Dean

Edouardo Rege, et rursus sub Elizabetha eius sorore, vim intulissent sacris imaginibus, et impudicus Ganeo Johannes Balæus confregisset et violasset quascūq̄ reperire poterat sanctorum statuas et effigies, ab his tamen fenestris tam ipse quam alij post eum inuasores Episcopi manus violentas continuerunt.

Ad læuum latus ingredientiū chorū prope altare episcopus habebat absydem gradatam e saxo structili: secundarii vero antistites, non magno ab inde interuallo in circuitu præsbyterii habent suas sedes iuxta cuiusq̄ dignitatis eminentiam erectas: Decanus primam, Præcentor secundam, Cancellarius tertiam, Thesaurarius quartam, quib' accedit Archidiaconus, nam et ipse intuitu saltem præbendæ quam habet

officio annexam ingreditur præsbyteriū sedemq̄ occupat cum aliis dignitariis: Neq̄ vero ex his solum modo dignitatib' capitulum Ossoriense cōficitur, habet enim canonicos siue præbendarios qui votum habēt et suffragium capitulare et numero denario constāt: Ecclesias quas singuli sortiuntur infra recensebimus.

Habet templum ipsum satis spatiosum ambitū, intra quem et domus capitularis, et Sacellū B. Virginis continetur, quod inseruit pro Ecclesia parochiali, atq̄ ipsa nauis Ecclesiæ, nō tantū chorus, præbet monumenta sepulchralia procerū vtriusq̄ ordinis, tam Antistitum, quam etiam nobilium.”—*De Ossoriensi Diœcesi*, Cod. Clar. tom. li., 4796, British Museum; and E. 4. 18, Library Trin. Col. Dub., sections 25–29, and 33.

first, next sat the Precentor, in the third place the Chancellor, and fourth the Treasurer, to whom is added the Archdeacon, for he also, in right of his prebend which he holds annexed to his office, enters the presbytery and sits with the other dignitaries. Nor is the chapter of Ossory composed of those dignitaries alone, it possesses also canons or prebendaries, to the number of ten, who have vote and suffrage in the chapter. The churches which were allotted to them we shall recount hereafter.

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 "The church itself is of considerable size, and comprises within its walls both a chapter house and chapel of the Blessed Virgin which serves for the parish church. The nave of the church, no less than the choir, contains sepulchral monuments of men of rank both in church and state."

Before we pass on to the architectural description of the cathedral it may be well to offer a few observations on the foregoing. Of the anchorite's cell described by the author of the MS., the foundations still remain. The floor of the cell was nearly four feet below the level of the choir, and the remains of the earlier church had evidently been adapted for that purpose; at the south-west angle there is a niche in the choir wall 3 feet 8 inches wide, and of shallow depth; this is approached by three steps, and if entirely freed from masonry, would, doubtless, be found to contain the *fenestella lapidea*, or "low side window," commanding a view of the high altar. In the north-east angle is a rude circular cavity cut into the old wall, apparently for a fireplace, and there are three rude lockers or niches cut into the north wall, each about two feet wide. There must have been some superstructure, now removed, to raise the roof above the window already described, but it is probable that there was no door, as the anchorite was "inclusus," shut up in his cell*. The site of the anchorite's cell is marked I on the plan.

During the process of clearing out the area of the old "anker-house," in the summer of 1846, a very interesting discovery was made, serving to throw some light on the character of De Ledrede's windows, so vividly described by the

* The writer of the MS. adds, when speaking of the cell: "Eratq̄ in pluribus huius regni Ecclesiis principalibus pia illa observatio tenendæ colendæq̄ Anachoreseōs, sicuti de cella S. Imerij diximus in Ecclesia Ardmachana; de cella etiam S. Carthagi in Ecclesia Lismorensi alibi di-

cetur. Erat etiam cella Anachoretica in Aghure Ossorien' dioc'. Nam de successione Anachoretarum Fourensium quæ etiam nûc viget, proprius dicendi locus erit in Diœcesi Midensi, et ex illa occasione inserem' regulas vitæ Anachoreticæ tam illas quæ olim conscriptæ erant, quam quæ

writer of the MS. About four feet beneath the surface the workmen struck on a stratum of painted and stained glass, broken into fragments more or less minute, and intermixed with portions of the ancient leads. This stratum was immediately beneath the three lancet lights which pierce the north wall of the choir at its eastern end, and extended about three feet from the wall. It was evidently the *debris* of the windows above, as scarcely a quarry of the glass remained entire, and the leads were much bent and twisted. It would appear, too, that the spoliators had a keen eye to profit, as the remains of a large wood fire, amounting to nearly a horse-load of charcoal, was close at hand, into which the glass, when torn down from the windows, had evidently been cast for the purpose of melting out the lead which bound it together. Here were found

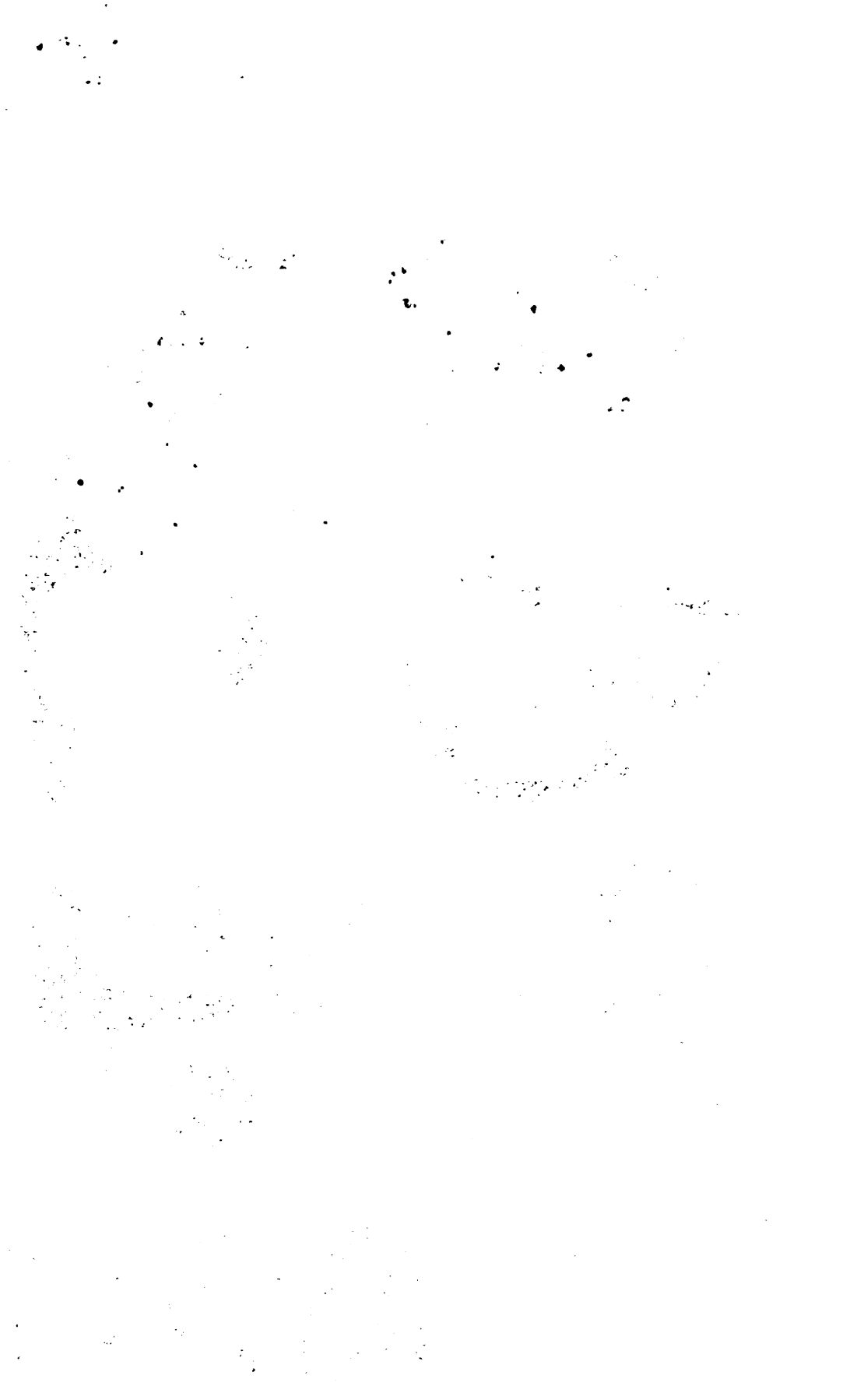
hoc tempore obseruantur, in ista quæ nunc superest Anachoresi."—*De Ossoriensi Diœcesi*, § 27.

The anchorite's cell at Fore still remains; St. Doulough's, near Dublin, a remarkable example, and that of St. Munna, of Taghmun in Westmeath, may be added to the instances enumerated by the writer of the MS. Marianus Scotus, the celebrated annalist, was an include.

It seems to be a misnomer to call such "inclusionarii" anchorites, who have their name from ἀναχωρέω, because they usually retired to a desert place. They are more properly ascetics, who lived apart in a cell. The Rules promised in the MS. are still *desiderata*: but by a Rule drawn up by Grimlaïc, an anchorite priest of the ninth, or, at latest, tenth century, anchorites were required to live near churches. A Bavarian Rule directs the cell to be of stone, twelve feet square, with three windows, one opposite the choir, by which the Eucharist was to be received, the second for admitting food, and the third for light, to be closed by horn or glass. Of this kind appears to have been the cell at Kilkenny. The cell at "Aghure" (Freshford), about seven miles from Kilkenny, has been totally removed. In England a few "ankerhouses" remain, as in the south transept of Norwich Cathedral, and at Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, in the

tower. Many ankerhouses were wooden structures close to the church, so that their occupants dwelt, as the author of "The Ancren Riwe" of the thirteenth century, published by the Camden Society, says, under the eaves of the church. These ascetics were of both sexes. The ceremony of inclusion was attended with a solemn service, of which an example, with rubrical directions, is preserved in the Harleian Collection, No. 873, Mus. Brit. In cases of great strictness (which was voluntary on the part of the include), the anchorite was locked in for life, and the bishop, whose consent was necessary, placed his seal upon the cell. Occasionally the entrance was closed up with masonry. The include lived upon the alms of the pious. So we find Henry II. bequeathing gifts to the includes of Jerusalem, England, and Normandy. In a will of the fifteenth century there is a bequest to "the Anker in the Wall beside Bishopsgate," London: and St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, makes bequests to the includes (in one instance a female) of Pageham, Hoghton, Stopeham, and Heringham. A contemporary Bishop of Norwich mentions several "ankers" and includes in his will, and especially his niece Ella "in reclusorio" at Massingham.—See for the authorities *The Archæological Journal*, vol. xi., pp. 194–200.

lumps of conglomerate matter composed of melted glass, lead, and charcoal. The quantity of glass discovered was considerable, and it was at first hoped that it might bear leading, and be placed in some of the windows of the cathedral; but the damp nature of the soil, by which it had been for nigh two centuries covered, had rendered it extremely brittle and liable to come away in flakes, the soda, which enters into the fabrication of all glass, having become decomposed, and separated from the silica. The glass was of various kinds, viz., white, opaque, painted, and stained; there were many varieties of the latter, as purple, blue, ruby, yellow, amber, green, amethyst, and a rich ultramarine, with intermediate shades of all these colours. The painted glass exhibited chiefly portions of floral designs painted in a reddish stain on white and semi-opaque glass, and then burned in. On a careful examination of the entire mass, not more than four or five fragments exhibiting traces of the human figure presented themselves. Immediately after the discovery, the writer, being desirous to ascertain the age of the specimens discovered, in order to identify them with De Ledrede's glass, communicated the facts to Mr. Charles Winston, whose "Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings" is a standard work of reference on the subject. Mr. Winston's reply was entirely in favour of the conjecture that the fragments of glass discovered belonged to the fourteenth century. He stated that fourteenth century glass is distinguishable by the nature and texture of the material, by its colour, and by the mode of painting on it. The texture of the glass is sometimes impure, and often nearly opaque; frequently it is encrusted with a brown ferruginous coating, or perforated by little round holes about the size of a pin's head,—the effect of decomposition in both cases. Glass of this period has a tendency to exfoliate like mica. The plain glass is frequently of a rich sea-green hue, varying in depth according to the manufacture and thickness of the sheet. Some of the plain and coloured glass of this period is very thick, ranging from a quarter of an inch to a sixteenth or under. The colour, and mode of producing it, afford also *criteria* to judge of the age of glass. In the fourteenth century the yellow and ruby stains were produced in a very peculiar way, namely, by a coating of yellow or ruby glass laid over a substratum of white, often presenting a streaked and uneven appearance, as if laid on with a brush. This yellow stained glass is not to be confounded with a homogeneous yellow glass which was in use during all the





PORTIONS OF ANCIENT GLASS. FULL SIZE

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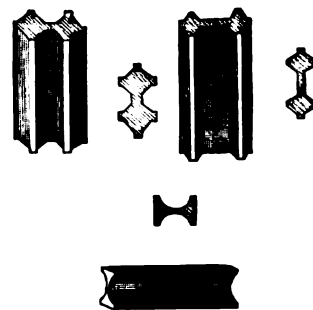
PLATE I. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

periods over which glass-painting extends, and which, with all such homogeneously tinted glass, of whatever colour, is termed "pot-metal." Ruby glass is invariably stained on one side only of the sheet, the substratum being white glass; and the layer of colouring matter varies much in thickness according to the age of the glass, the oldest being of considerable substance. Frequently, when viewed edgewise, it is found to consist of several laminæ of ruby embedded in white glass*. Geometrical patterns, consisting of combinations of the circle, spherical triangle, &c., are especially characteristic of fourteenth century glass work, whilst the floral patterns in vogue consisted of running scrolls formed by tendrils, with ivy, maple, vine, or oak leaves springing from them; the lines of the design being strongly marked, and painted in an enamel tint of a reddish-brown colour, composed of an oxide of iron, mixed with a soft flux, which, when exposed to heat, permanently adhered to the glass. Fine cross-hatchings were much used at this period also. Examples of every variety of the different kinds described by Mr. Winston were found amongst the glass exhumed in 1846 from beneath the north windows of the choir. Some characteristic specimens have been represented in tinted lithography on the accompanying plate, and give a faithful idea of the originals, except that it was found impossible adequately to reproduce the brilliancy of the ruby tint of the glass. Examples of the geometric and floral patterns, already alluded to, have also been included in our illustration. The delicacy of the tendrils represented on one of the specimens will be observed, and affords a striking example of the attention bestowed on work which, from its height above the spectator's eye, could only present the general effect of colour or form. A fragment of the draped arm of a human figure may be seen painted on another of the specimens figured in the plate.

But the age of glass may be judged of as much by the character of the leads in which it is set, as by its own peculiarities. It may be observed of all leads of the period to which our glass belongs, in contradistinction to those manufactured in modern times, that they present a narrow surface to the eye, whilst strength and rigidity, in a line at right angles to the plane of the window, is

* Purple glass was sometimes, at this period, produced by enclosing a stratum of blue glass between two strata of the ruby stain,—but no example of this kind has occurred amongst the glass found beneath the choir windows of the cathedral.

obtained by their peculiar form. These will be seen, by the accompanying woodcut, to be the characteristics of the leads found along with the St. Canice's glass. Three varieties are here represented, of the same size as the originals, one used for the smaller patterns, the others, which are much stronger, for the larger glazing panels and general outlines. Anciently leads were cast in a mould, and the fragments discovered at St. Canice's have very much that character. It were to be wished that modern Irish manufacturers would take a lesson from these ancient examples, where the same or a smaller quantity of metal is so managed as to afford flexibility sufficient for the composition of the most intricate patterns, great rigidity to the action of storms, and a surface so narrow as not to interfere with the design of the window,—qualities, in all of which modern leading is sadly deficient.

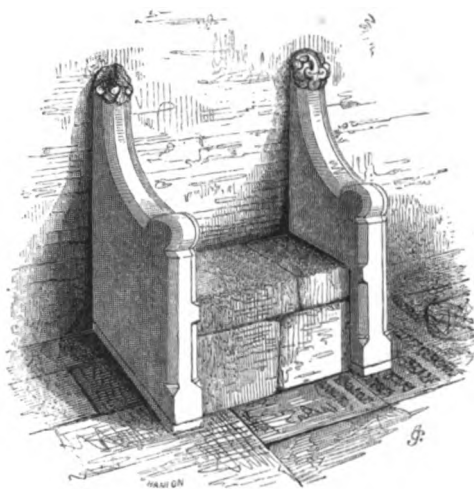


No. 7.

From the foregoing data it may safely be concluded, that the glass and leads, exhumed in 1846, once formed portions of the celebrated windows erected by De Ledrede five hundred years before. It is true that an objection presents itself. The windows of De Ledrede are said to have been adorned by a series of compositions, most probably in the medallion form, illustrative of the history of our Saviour; whilst, amongst the fragments recovered, but few can be referred to the human figure. But, irrespective of the fact that some specimens of the painted glass must be referred to that class of design, there are two considerations, which serve, in a great degree, to obviate this objection. The first is, that any representation of the human form would have been peculiarly obnoxious to the iconoclastic zeal of the Puritan despoilers of the cathedral; all such portions they would, undoubtedly, take particular care to deface. Secondly, we must recollect that the glass and leads discovered in 1846 appear to have been broken down from the *northern windows of the choir*, whilst all testimony concurs in assigning the glass paintings commemorating the Gospel history to the *great eastern window*. We may fairly suppose that the side windows were kept subordinate to the great design, and, although rich in all the varied hues of stained and painted glass, were chiefly filled with the mosaic, geometric, and floral patterns, of which the exhumed fragments present examples. At all

events, "that the glass^a in question is of the fourteenth century," to quote Mr. Winston's words, "there cannot be the slightest doubt."

The description of the arrangement of the choir, given by the writer of the MS., is not very clear. He describes the choir as having been furnished with an apse, in which was the bishop's throne, and the high altar. The term 'apse' is usually applied to the circular or polygonal eastern terminations of ancient churches, which, although frequently to be met with in England, seem never to have been used by our Irish architects. Perhaps the writer meant to convey the idea, that the presbytery or choir was raised in steps; on the highest or easternmost was the altar, to the left of which stood the bishop's throne. The remainder of the description is easily understood. The material of the ancient choir fittings was probably carved stone, and we may judge of the style of the rest by the two sides or arms of a stall, carved in Kilkenny marble, and adorned with early English foliage, which is preserved in the north transept, and is traditionally termed "St. Kieran's Chair." The stone-work forming the present *seat* is modern; the arms are undoubtedly of the thirteenth century, contemporary with the cathedral itself, but not of an earlier date; it probably was one of the stalls of the canons or prebendaries.



No. 8.

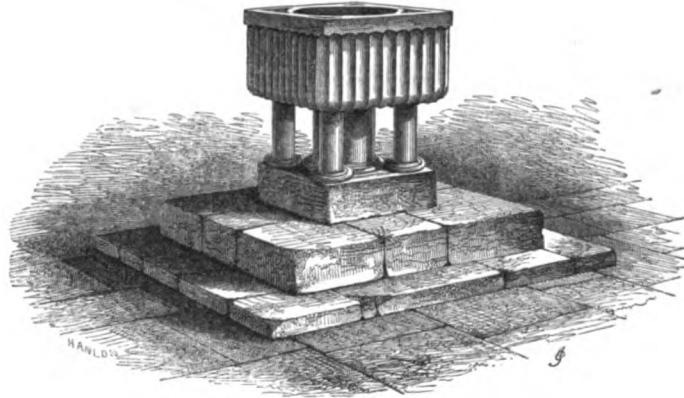
Another portion of the church furniture, coeval with the cathedral itself, which has come down to our day, is the font. There are no means of tracing its history^b except that the style in which it is carved, and the mode in which its five supporting pillars are arranged, prove it to be of the same date as the church to which it belongs. The accompanying illustration, carefully drawn to perspective scale of three-eighths

^a The glass and leads alluded to above have been deposited in the Museum of the Kilkenny Archæological Society by the Dean of Ossory.

^b The "marble font," broken "all to pieces"

by the "fanatic limbs of the beast" in 1650, seems to have been a different one erected in the choir after it was appropriated to the reformed worship.—See p. 45, *supra*.

of an inch to a foot, will give the best idea of its form. There was originally a drain carrying down the water to the earth through the thick central sup-



No. 9.

port, but it seems now to be closed up. The bowl of the font is cylindrical, and in the spaces between the circle and the external square are well marked and characteristic carvings; we give an engraving of this ornament, drawn to a scale of half an inch to a foot. At what period the font was re-erected in its old position, near the south porch, is not known. Fonts of similar pattern exist, belonging to St. Mary's Church, Kilkenny, and the parish (originally collegiate) church of Gowran in the county of Kilkenny—both of them Early English structures.



No. 10.

To conclude our notices of the ancient fittings of the cathedral, a few words on the flooring tiles used in the building may here be allowed. It is now impossible to trace, with any degree of certainty, the connexion between the tile pavements of our ancient religious edifices, and the tessellated pavements of the ancient Romans. That the former sprang from an adaptation of the principle of the latter seems, however, almost self-evident. Neither can the date of the introduction of tile pavements be assigned with precision; all we at present know is that they occur in churches at dates ranging from about the year 1200 to the end of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, though found in Normandy of a somewhat earlier date. In England attention has long been directed to the subject, and the use of this beautiful style of pavement has been very extensively

*Glossary of
Terms used in
Gothic Archi-
tecture, sub vo-
ce "Tiles."*



14. 17th. Haders. Street.

Ancient Pavement Tiles
St. Canice Cathedral.

21. Grafton Street.

revived there. In Ireland, although numberless specimens lie scattered in the ruins of our churches and abbeys, no notice of their existence was taken until Mr. Thomas Oldham printed his treatise on "Ancient Irish Pavement Tiles," some years since. Irish specimens of three varieties have been observed, viz.: 1. Impressed; 2. Inlaid; 3. In relief. In the first class, the tile, from four to six inches square, and from one to two inches thick, was fashioned out of pieces of well-compacted clay: on this was *impressed* the pattern, geometric, floral, or, in some instances, heraldic; over all a glaze was passed, and then the tiles were burned. The next step was to impress the pattern more deeply and broadly, and into the cavity thus left after the withdrawal of the stamp was forced white or coloured clays, care being taken to have the inlaid clay different in tint from the ground. The third variety is easily understood. Examples of the first two varieties alone have been found in the Cathedral of St. Canice; and the impressed pattern occurs in much greater quantity than the inlaid; so much so as to lead one to the conclusion that the latter kind were very sparingly used. The accompanying plate presents six varieties; and, besides these, several plain tiles, and the pattern represented in Mr. Oldham's plate, No. 4, have been found. A considerable number of fragmental examples, and some few whole tiles, were discovered by the workmen engaged in clearing the accumulated earth from the external walls of the cathedral in 1845; several have been turned up in making graves in the churchyard near the north transept, and a few were found *in situ* close to the wall in the parish church when it was under repair in 1850. Whenever the present flooring of the cathedral is disturbed, specimens, more or less perfect, present themselves. In short, it is evident from the quantities discovered, that the entire building was originally floored with them. It is now, of course, impossible to ascertain the arrangement of the tiles, or to say in what portions of the building the different varieties were used, or whether they were *exclusively* used in any part. The impressed tiles have alone been found *in situ*, as already observed, in the parish church; and perhaps the inlaid patterns, as being the richest and most ornamental, were confined to the choir, or immediate vicinity of the altar, whilst in the aisles and transepts the more simple impressed patterns were employed. There can be little doubt that in both cases plain tiles were used to relieve the ornamental ones, and afford framework for the various patterns. It is observ-

able that half, quarter, and even quartered ornamental tiles again diagonally divided, have been discovered; and the same observation applies to the plain tiles. Some of the patterns were completed in four tiles, but others required a greater number, and some of the patterns are evidently intended to be repeated frequently in juxtaposition to each other*. Should the cathedral of St. Canice ever have the good fortune to be restored in accordance with its original plan, it is to be hoped that the important item of ornamental tile pavement will not be neglected; and, perhaps, the original patterns would best suit the plain but elegant architectural style of the structure, to the consideration of which we now pass.

Although there is nothing of an ornate character about the exterior of the cathedral, yet the very absence of all pretension, the general fitness and harmony of its parts, and the massiveness of its proportions, impress the beholder with greater pleasure than arises from the examination of many buildings of more ambitious design. It has been objected, indeed, to our cathedral that its effect is spoiled by the want of height in the central tower, and, no doubt, this objection is well founded. That a low "stumpy steeple" did not enter into the design of the original architect, we have evidence from the record already quoted (page 35, *supra*) of the fall of the tower in 1332. The bell story, with, perhaps, its triplet lancet lights on each face, was then lost, and what remains to us is but the stump, shorn, very likely, of at least forty feet of its original height. With this additional elevation—the summit crowned by that peculiar pinnacle work, of which the neighbouring tower of the Dominican abbey (although of a later date) affords a good example, and the stair-turret at the south-western angle carried up above the rest, and terminating by a pinnacle and small ornamental vane—the effect of the entire building would be greatly improved. The south-western aspect of the cathedral has been so frequently engraved, that it has been here omitted, in favour of other more

* The specimens of the ancient pavement tiles discovered at St. Canice's Cathedral have been deposited in the Museum of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, where they are illustrated by many similar specimens found in the ancient abbeys of the surrounding district. It is observable that amongst

the examples found at the cathedral occurs a mass of tiles united by a partial fusion of the clay, which must have occurred in the process of burning, thus serving to show that the tiles were manufactured on the spot; as it is most unlikely that such imperfect specimens would have been imported.

necessary illustrations. From this point of view the principal feature is the western gable, which, with its tall triple lancet window and richly sculptured doorway, its buttresses, surmounted by terminal pinnacles, carrying the eye upwards, and varying the light and shade of the whole, and its tall, cross-surmounted gable, presents a *coup d'œil* of considerable architectural merit. There is a peculiarity in the arrangement of the triplet window, of which we do not remember to have seen another example: the lancets at each side come down below the central one, and the space is occupied by an oblong, rectangular panel containing three small multifoil openings, lighting a triforium-like gallery which runs across the base of the window internally. The apex of the gable contained a large multifoil window, but it is now partially closed up, and has, besides, lost a considerable portion of its moldings. The western door is well worthy of attention, and will be fully described in a subsequent page. Originally there were crosses on the wings formed by the lean-to of each side aisle, but of these the sockets alone remain.

Passing round to the southward, the porch, an unusual feature in Irish churches, attracts attention on account of its elegant entrance arch: fortunately the original pitch of the gable wall has been allowed to remain unaltered, although the roof has been lowered considerably. This gable had its cross, of which the socket only now remains. The side aisle windows, both on the north and south sides and in the western gable, are of inferior workmanship, and would appear to have been hurriedly got up: they consist each of two lancets surmounted by a small quatrefoil, all combined into one window by a hood-mold. The clerestory lights are quatrefoil in shape, and from their large size and the absence of tracery, present a rather bald appearance. The south transept is furnished with angle buttresses, and is lighted by four lofty lancets, set in pairs, two in the west wall and two in the south gable; above the latter, in the apex of the gable from which the cross has been removed, is a multifoil window.

As we pass on to the eastward, leaving the round tower to be described hereafter, we come on the Lady chapel, and perceive that originally along the entire surface of its southern wall extended one unbroken window, composed of nine lancet lights combined into three groups by hood-molds. Of these the central compartment is now closed up, and the hood-mold industriously chipped away. The remaining windows are much shortened. The gable also, when in its

primitive state, presented a very large extent of glass, the wall being pierced with six lancets, the two central ones rising considerably above the others, and each group of two surmounted by a quatrefoil and hood-mold. This fine window has been sadly mutilated, the hood-molds having been broken away, the mullions removed from the two side couplets, and the opening closed up with masonry. The central lights are also much shortened.

The chapter-house, which comes between the Lady chapel and the choir, does not present any feature of much interest. It was originally lighted by one small lancet in the south wall, now closed up, and a small triple lancet window to the east; the latter is now much shortened. There are traces of a door in the east wall, adjoining the choir.

In our external survey the choir next presents itself. It has angle buttresses, and its walls are pierced by thirteen lights, viz.: two square-headed windows at each side near the tower, a group of three tall, round-headed lancets in each side wall near the eastern end, whilst the gable is furnished with a multifoil opening near the apex of the gable (which has lost its terminal cross), and beneath it a magnificent triple lancet window. All the windows at the eastern end of the choir have been shortened, and are consequently much injured as to their proportions.

The plate which fronts this page represents the south-eastern view of the cathedral, having the round tower in the fore-ground.

Passing round to the north side, the north chapel and parish church present themselves. The former has been, in modern times, shedded up against the choir, but the skew-table or weathering of the old gabled roof is apparent against the transept wall, as are also the doors and passage in the wall which gave access to the valley between the roofs. The external surface of the gable of this chapel is *weather-slated*, covering up the two side lights of a triple lancet, and injuring the general effect of the whole. Were this inappropriate covering removed, and the roof restored to its original form, it would prove a very great improvement to this part of the building. The parish church was re-roofed in 1850, the original pitch being preserved. It is lighted by two lancets in the gable, and two in the north wall.

Of the north transept little more need be said than that it is a counterpart of its southern fellow, with the exception of a doorway which will be described



The Cathedral and Round Tower of St. Canice, South-East View.

Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co.



hereafter. The windows are much shortened; those to the west unnecessarily, the northern ones, in consequence of the unsightly roof of the "colonnade" encroaching on their lower portions. It should have been stated before, that the gables of both transepts are pierced by two circular windows; one, a large multifoil, immediately over the two lancets, and grouping with them; the other, much smaller, and simply quatrefoiled, in the apex of the gable. The gable of this transept has lost its terminal cross.

There is nothing in the north side aisle or north side of the nave that requires remark, except that the side aisles do not appear ever to have had parapets, that the northern windows belong to the same low class of workmanship as those on the south side, and that one of the clerestory quatrefoils, that next the west end, has been recently closed up with masonry. We are glad to learn, however, that this arrangement is only temporary.

The masonry of the entire building is that termed spawled rubble, with quoins and dressings of cut-stone. In the rubble work, which is very good of its class, the limestone of the district is almost entirely used: the dressings are chiefly of sandstone. The battlements seem to preserve their original form; the corbel table is plain, except in a very few instances, where carvings of roses, &c., are introduced. The battlement of the tower is not corbelled out from the wall,—the molded string which, no doubt, formerly indicated the commencement of the bell-story, taking the place of the usual corbel table; the stair turret also ends abruptly, thus proving that the present battlement is merely a make-shift, having been erected (though, no doubt, at an early date) on the stump of the fallen tower.

Having thus briefly surveyed the external features of the cathedral, let us now proceed to examine in detail the characteristics of the interior.

Entering by the west door, the view of the interior is very striking. The massive, yet not ungraceful, columns, and richly molded arches which connect the nave with the side aisles, the shafted piers of the belfry leading the eye up to the elegant fan-tracery of its vaulting, and the choir stretching away beyond all, form a picture not easily surpassed. When first the dead wall, which had for so many years closed the choir arch, was removed, and ere the opening was again, in a great degree, blocked up by the erection of the present unsightly organ-case, the eye, ranging along the entire extent

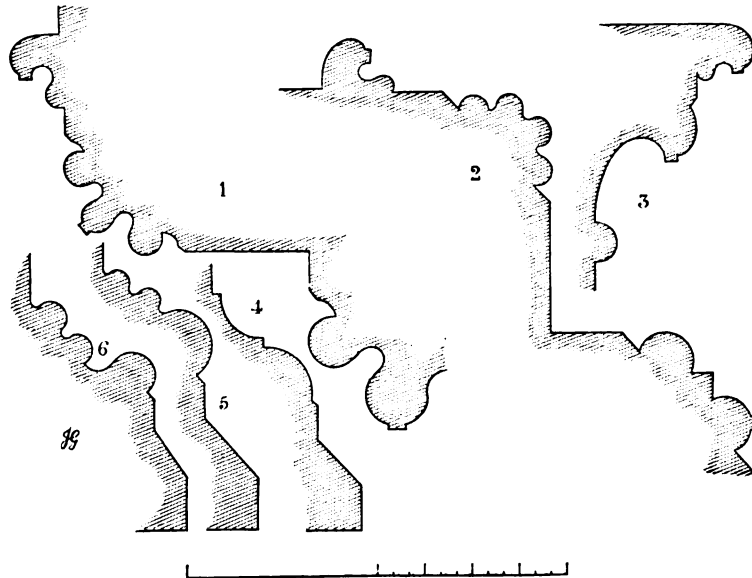
Nave and
side aisles.

of the building, could appreciate the effect produced by the strong light admitted through the lofty and numerous lancets at the eastern end, as contrasted with the deeper shade of the tower vaulting in the middle distance: and one was in some degree enabled to imagine the beauty of the whole when a richly carved roof spanned the nave and choir; when shaft, and arch-mold, and capital were rich with colour, and De Ledrede's painted windows—

“ Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,
As are the tiger-moth's deep-damask'd wings,”—

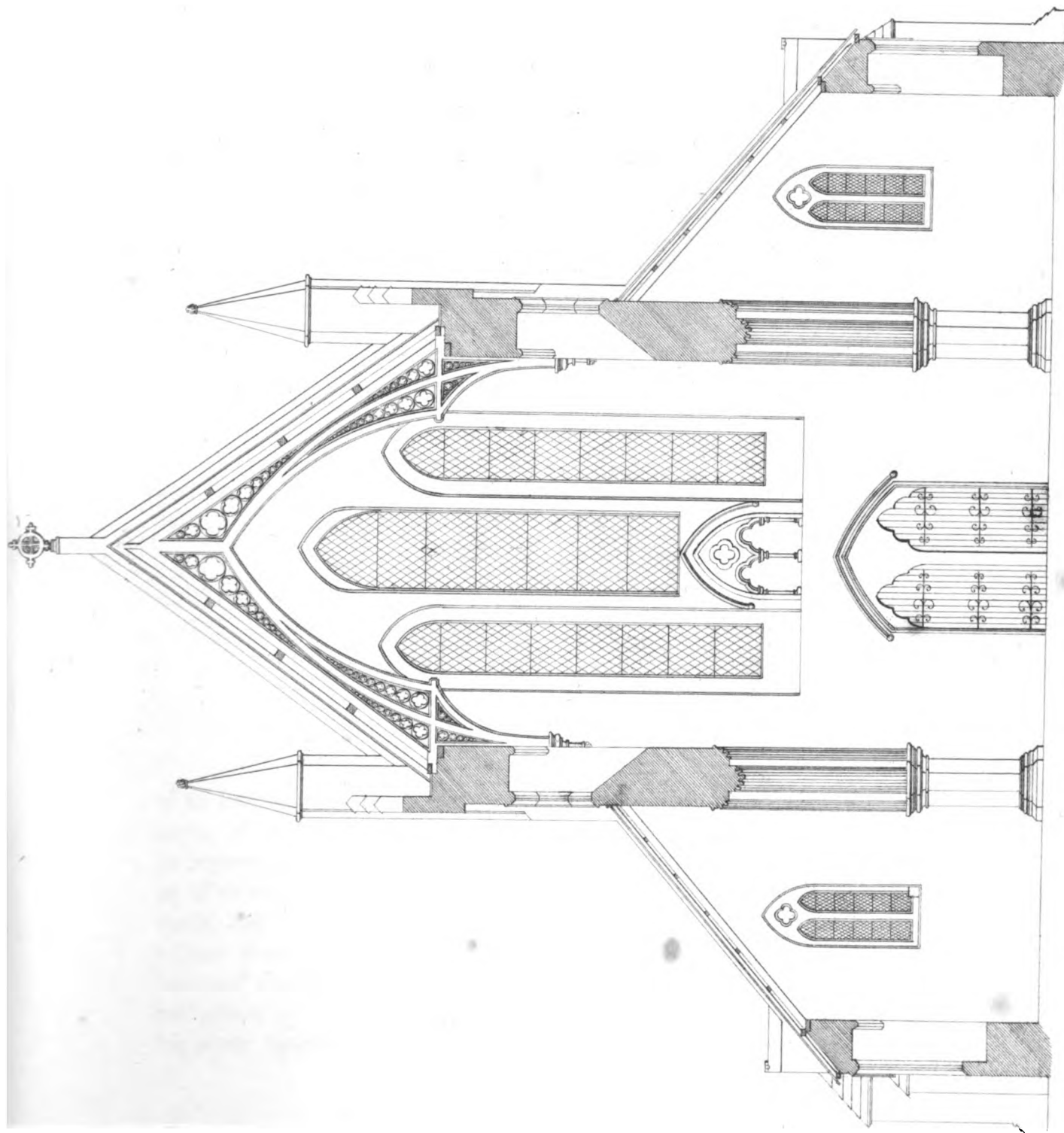
lent their glorious tints to perfect the picture. A view of the nave, as seen through the west doorway, will be given hereafter.

The plate on the opposite page shows the sectional arrangement of the nave and aisles. The arches are richly molded, each consisting of two orders, and have, on each face, hood-molds terminating in corbel-heads and bosses of foliage a short distance above the caps of the pillars. The accompanying diagrams afford sections, at one inch to a foot, of the arch-molds, two



No. 11.

varieties, each representing half the thickness of the wall (figs. 1 and 2). To the same scale are drawn sections of the cap-mold (fig. 3), and of three

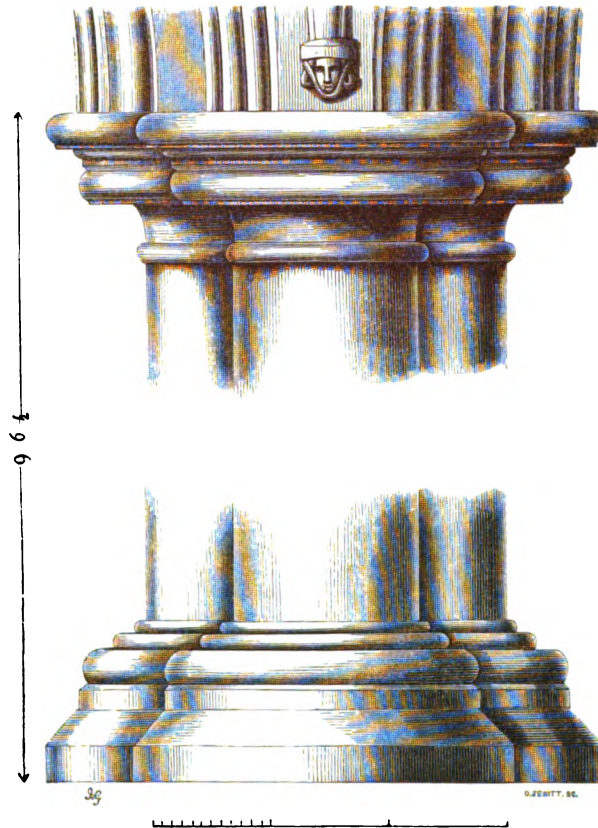


CATHEDRAL OF ST. CANICE KILKENNY

Section of Nave and Aisles, looking West
With proposed New Roof

J. & J. B. Keane, Architects, Dublin, 1874

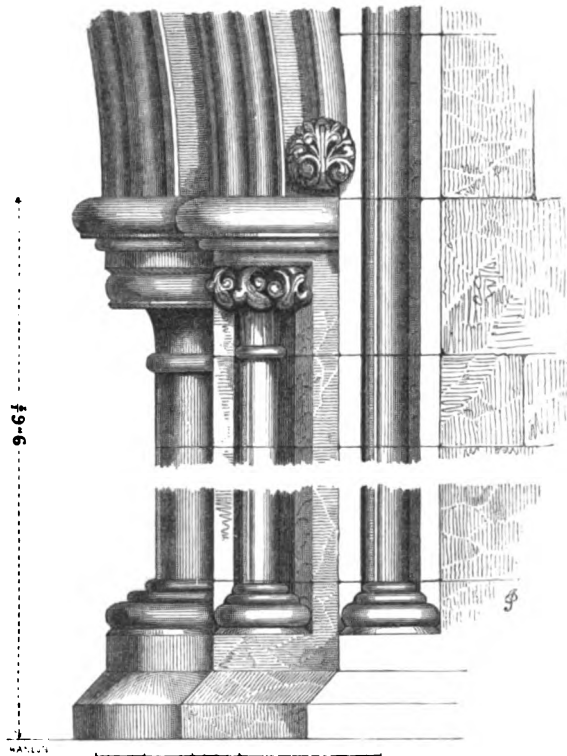
varieties of the base-mold of the pillars (figs. 4, 5, and 6). We also subjoin an elevation of one of the pillars of the nave, drawn to a scale of five-eighths



No. 12.

of an inch to a foot, showing the base and capital, and a corbel-head termination of the hood-mold, as above described. The plan of these pillars may be represented by a square of eighteen inches, having semicircles described on all its sides, thus presenting the appearance of a cluster of four cylindrical shafts, half of each being engaged in the substance of the column. Each column measures 9 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, or thereabouts, including the base and capital. At the western end of each of the rows of arches, the half pillars, or responds, are similar in design to those we have described; but in the eastern responds the molded soffit-ribs of the arches are carried by

single engaged filleted shafts of much smaller dimensions. The abacus of the capitals of each of these shafts is continued along the face of the belfry pier, and forms also the upper member of the capitals of the two slender angle-shafts, thus connecting them with the central one. This arrangement is represented in the view of the parish church, given in a subsequent page, where one bay of the nave arcade forms the foreground. The annexed woodcut shows the base, capitals,



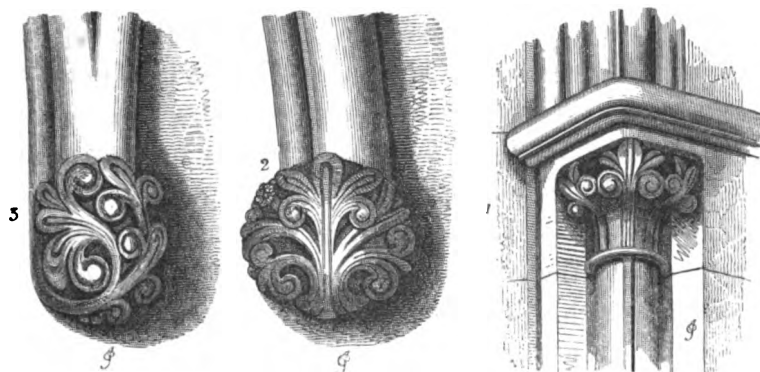
No. 13.

and a portion of the shafts (which are filleted) of the north-eastern respond. The capitals of the angle-shafts are sculptured with the foliage of the period^a ;

^a "The foliage [of the Early English period] is very remarkable for boldness of effect, and it is often so much undercut as to be connected with the mouldings only by the stalks and edges

of the leaves; there is frequently considerable stiffness in the mode in which it is combined, but the effect is almost always good: the prevailing leaf is the trefoil."—*Glossary of the Terms*

the stems of the leaves being represented as running up the neck of the capital, and the foliage clustering on the bell^a, as shown in the accompanying drawing



No. 14.

made from the south-eastern respond (fig. 1). Generally the foliage curves outwards; but frequently, as in this last example, it is upright and recurved. The bosses which corbel off the terminations of the hood-molds are peculiarly elegant in design, and of excellent workmanship. We give examples from the north and south arcades (see cut, figs. 2 and 3), and here engrave another from the south arcade, representing the head of an ecclesiastic peeping out from amidst foliage, the stalks of which he holds in his hands. The arches by which the side aisles open into the transept are, comparatively speaking, plain, the edges of the soffits and piers being simply chamfered; and the soffit ribs, semi-octagon in section, are carried by engaged filleted shafts on one side (that abutting on the belfry piers), whilst on the other side they are corbelled off about three feet



No. 15.

used in *Gothic Architecture*, sub voce, "Early English." The central rib of each leaf is generally carried in an elevated ridge towards the apex, where it sometimes swells out into a knob-like excrescence.

^a Gothic capitals consist of three parts: the

abacus, the bell, and the neck; which in the Early English style are, in general, each a third part of the entire capital: this proportion is followed almost invariably in the capitals of the Cathedral of St. Canice.—See Paley's *Manual of Gothic Moldings*, p. 69.

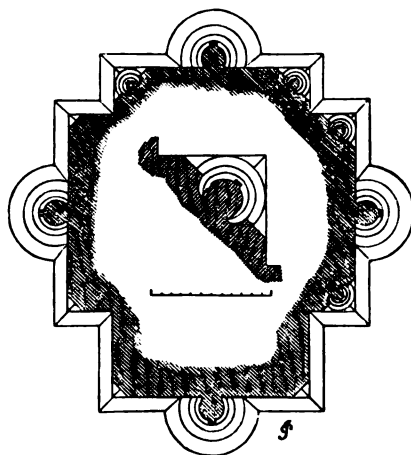
below the neck-mold of the capital. The nave has a fine group of three lancets, separated by massive piers, in the west gable: originally a multifoil of some size pierced the apex of the gable, but it is now closed. The lancets are neither splayed nor hollow in the head, the arrises of their jambs being merely chamfered continuously. There are five large quatrefoil windows in the clerestory at each side, which have upright, unsplayed sides, and segmental escoinson ribs internally; they are hollow in the head, and the sills are very much splayed to allow the light to fall freely into the nave. The side aisle windows afford an early example of plate tracery, but seem from the inferiority of their execution to have been the work of other hands than those employed on the remainder of the church. They consist each of two small lancets enclosed beneath a trefoiled arch internally, the tympanum above the lancets being pierced by a small quatrefoil. An example is engraved in the view which illustrates the section descriptive of the parish church. The windows which light the western ends of the side aisles resemble those just described, except that they are not splayed nor trefoiled in the head internally. In the buttress which is attached to the south-west angle of the southern side aisle a spiral stair is formed; thence, by a passage in the wall, and across the end window of that side aisle, there is access to another spiral stair formed in one of the buttresses which run up the external face of the west gable, and so to the battlements of the roof. It would almost seem that a clerestory gallery, or priest's walk^a, entered into the original plan of the cathedral, as the passage, already alluded to, is carried across the base of the great west window, the piers which separate the lancets being pierced for that purpose. Connected with this passage are the three small singular circular opes, already described, which occupy, externally, the space by which the central lancet is shorter than its side companions: opposite to these, internally, there is what may be called a small unglazed window, with plate tracery in its head; its form, which will be found indicated on the section given at p. 82, *supra*, is that of a double trefoiled opening,

^a Churches of large size are generally furnished with a triforium or arcade, with a passage behind it; the latter often continued in the thickness of the wall round the entire building. The triforium was placed over the pier arches

and below the clerestory; but such a feature did not, it is evident, enter into the plan of this cathedral. When the plan did not admit of this arrangement, the gallery was often carried along the clerestory windows.

surmounted by a quatrefoil, all comprised beneath a hood-mold; the trefoiled sub-arches are carried by detached shafts at the jambs, and a corresponding shaft in the centre. Perhaps the walls, which are not buttressed, and have to bear the thrust of a wide roof, were found to be too thin to allow of the passage being carried along the clerestories.

The arches, which support the belfry and connect the nave, transepts, and choir, are of good design, and the proportions of each may be represented by an almost right-angled spherical triangle placed on a square of twenty-five feet. The piers are massive, and yet not too heavy. The accompanying diagram shows the plan of the north-western pier^a; and the corresponding or south-western pier is similarly arranged, except that the angles of the eastern face are cut away, giving that face a semi-octagonal instead of a rectangular character. What has been said as to the eastern and western responds of the nave arcades applies equally to the northern and southern faces of the western or nave arch of the belfry. There are engaged filleted shafts at the angles (of one of which a plan is given on an enlarged scale within the plan of the pier here engraved). An engaged and filleted shaft also runs up the centre of each pier, and carries the soffit-rib, which is semi-octagonal in section; the soffit is ornamented at its angles by bold groups of roll-moldings deeply undercut, and the western face is furnished with a hood-mold^b. An elevation of the north-western pier is given in the view which illustrates the parish church. The northern and southern, or transept, arches are devoid of angle-shafts, and from the piers of the southern arch the arris has been removed, and a chamfer 1 foot 9 inches wide left. The diagram on the next page,



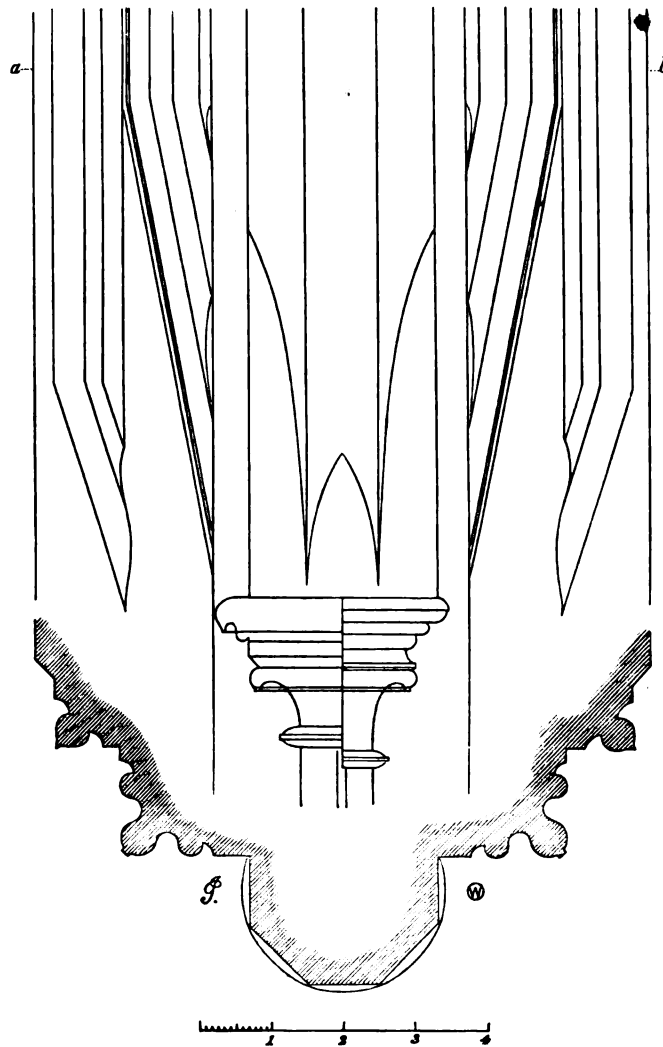
No. 16.

^a This plan was accidentally reversed in drawing it on the block for the engraver.

^b When the whitewash was removing from the belfry arches in 1851, it was found that the

cement (used originally in setting the stonework, and which had been allowed to remain protruding from the joints) consisted of finely powdered yellow sandstone mixed with lime.

drawn to a scale of three-eighths of an inch to a foot, affords a section (at *a b*) of the south arch-mold; the engraving also comprises half-elevations of the



No. 17.

capitals at each side, and shows how the moldings of the soffit die into the plain chamfer of the pier. Engaged and filleted shafts convey the soffit-rib, which is circular where it rests on the capitals, but then passes into the semi-

octagonal section, as represented in the illustration. The lower portions of the bases of these shafts are semi-octagonal, above which are circular moldings. The eastern, or choir, arch is similar to the two last described; its piers are also of the same character, or nearly so, the only difference being the presence of engaged filleted shafts which run up at the intersection of the choir and transept piers, and seem to have been in some way connected with the original Early English vaulting which fell with the tower: at present they are unmeaning appendages, but they, no doubt, had their use when originally designed.

The vaulting of the belfry is divided into four pendentives^a by longitudinal and transverse ridge ribs, the vaulting ribs having all the same curve: in other words, each pendentive resembles a fourth part of an inverted curvilinear conoid covered with ribs spreading over it like a fan. The area of the belfry vault is about 25 feet square; and each quarter or pendentive comprises nine ribs, besides two half-ribs adjoining the walls, which diverge from the point of the pendentive, and stretch upwards to the ridge ribs, being equidistant from each other on a semicircle, the radius of which is half the side of the square of vaulting. The central ribs of each pendentive are diagonals, and the two adjoining ones, on each side of it, are produced till they meet the corresponding ribs of the adjoining pendentives, and so form a network of intersections around the apex of the vault. This arrangement is shown on the plan (see p. 65, *supra*), and in the accompanying view taken from the north transept. The ridge and vaulting ribs are of the same size, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, chamfered on each angle to the width of 3 inches. The spaces between the ribs are filled with rubble vaulting. There are five perforations at the points where the transverse ridge and vaulting ribs intersect with the ridge rib which runs east and west. Through these it is supposed that the bell ropes originally passed. Similar openings occur in the abbeys of Holycross, Kilcooly, Dunbrody, and Jerpoint; and at Bristol and Exeter cathedrals the ropes, used to chime the bells, may still be seen depending through similar perforations. The vaulting of the tower of St. Canice rises 44 feet above the flooring of the church, and bears a resemblance, in its constructive features, to that *chef d'œuvre* of Perpendicular work, the roof of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, supposing the latter to be

^a This term is used to designate that portion of a Gothic vault which is bounded by the longitudinal and transverse ridge ribs, and the side walls of the building.

stripped of its beautiful tracery and ornamentation. The principle is the same: but Bishop Hacket's taste was too pure to allow him to introduce profuse and gorgeous carvings in a building otherwise remarkably plain in its features: and the belfry vault of St. Canice does not detract from the fame of him who designed a vault of so daring a span at Batalha, that the centres were ordered to be struck by condemned malefactors*.

Passing eastward, we enter the choir by the ancient door of the rood-screen. The latter is a plain wall, pierced in the centre by a pointed arch doorway of simple Early English form. The material of the jambs and voussoirs
The choir. (or arch stones) is a soft yellow sandstone, and it has met with much ill treatment. The corbels which supported the timbers of the rood-loft remained till removed in December, 1853, when the new organ was in course of erection. They were plain, four in number, and 10 feet 6 inches above the present flooring. Above the corbels occurred a door, 3 feet wide, flat-headed, and chamfered, and at each side two small flat-headed loops or windows splayed towards the nave. The old work ranged about a foot above the door and windows alluded to, measuring in all about 16 feet from the floor. The masonry which filled up the choir arch above this was modern loose rubble-work. It is a question whether the rood-loft^b stood in front of these openings or above them; we are inclined to the latter supposition: most probably the corbels served to give support to the struts used to sustain its flooring, the under side of which was generally formed into a large coved cornice, ornamented with small ribs and other decorations, connected with the screen below. On

*Glossary of
Architecture,
in verbo.*

* The vault of the chapter-house at Batalha was 85 Portuguese palms square (the Portuguese palm measures $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches), and constructed of "hewn stone." "It is recorded, that in constructing the vault, it fell twice in striking the centres, with great injury to the workmen. But the King, desirous, at all events, to have a room without the defect of a central support, promised to reward the Architect, if he could accomplish it. At this, he was animated in such a manner that he began it again, as if confident of success. The King, however, would not hazard any more the lives of his workmen in

striking the centres: therefore he ordered, from the different prisons of the kingdom, such men, as were sentenced to capital punishments, in order that, if the like disaster happened a third time, none should suffer, but those, who had already forfeited their lives to the offended laws of their country."—Murphy's *Batalha*, pp. 45, 46.

^b This was a gallery built to support the "Rood," or group of the Crucifixion accompanied by figures of St. John and the Blessed Virgin, one at each side. It always stood above the screen which separated the nave from the choir.—*Glossary of Architecture*, in verbo.

entering the choir, the feeling which predominates in the well-instructed mind is regret that so much good workmanship and fine old oak timber should be thrown away on the fittings erected by Bishop Pococke. That a man just returned from foreign travel, at the period when he lived, should prefer the Grecian architecture, of the Ionic style, to the Gothic, is, however, nothing wonderful, and, perhaps, we should be grateful that his active and liberal disposition did not lead that prelate to remodel the entire building in the former style. The choir is of good proportions, and the fine assemblage of windows at its eastern end defies the tendency of hideous "compass-ceiling," and incongruous pews and gallery to destroy its effect. The eastern triplet is widely splayed, thus reducing internally the massive piers to a narrow face, up which ran graceful detached shafts, which were secured at intervals by molded bands, and carried the escoinson^a ribs of the interior or rear vault, thus connecting the entire triplet into one magnificent window. The centre lancet rises to a considerable height above the side ones; the heads are hollow; and the escoinson ribs form pointed trefoils: they are richly molded, having trails of the undercut tooth ornament running along one of the deepest of the hollows. The capitals, enriched with foliage, and the nail-head ornament, still remain, but the detached escoinson shafts are wanting, and, what is more deplorable, the three engaged bands, which secured the shafts in their places, and divided them into four tiers, have been completely broken away^b. The triple lancet lights, with which the north and south walls are pierced at its eastern end, are similar to the eastern group in decoration and plan: they are, however, round-headed, both as regards the external arch, and trefoiled internal escoinson rib; the capitals of their escoinson shafts are, if anything, of more elegant workmanship than those of the eastern window. The shafts and bands are wanting here also, the latter, of which there were two sets dividing the shafts into three tiers, having been broken away. The repeated coatings of whitewash to which the carved work

^a Escoinson, in the old French, means the interior edge of the window-jamb and arch, where the wall is of considerable thickness.—*Glossary of Architecture*, in verbo.

^b It is much to be wished that these shafts and bands should be, in every instance, restored.

Fortunately, the arrangement may yet be recovered from the windows of the Lady chapel, where the molded bands and a portion of one of the shafts still remain. Amongst the details of the door of the north transept will be found the plan and elevation of a very effective molded band.

of these windows has been subject has rendered it impossible to make drawings of the details just described. Near the western end are four short lights, two in each wall, close together, which, though retaining in other respects the characteristics of the Early English lancet, are flat-headed externally, the lintel being carved into a sort of inverted ogee; these lights have rear vaults and chamfered segmental escoinson ribs, and are widely splayed, especially in the sill, to allow the light to fall freely into the choir; they are set high up in the wall, in order to be free from the side chapel roofs. According to the map given by Harris, the choir was approached by doors from the chapter-room and north chapel, but these are now closed up. It seems probable that the latter was originally intended as an aisle to the choir, and if at any future time the examination is made, it is most likely that the row of arches which connected them will be found blocked up in the wall. The present fittings of the choir are in perfect keeping with the huge black marble monument erected near the altar by Lord Mountgarret, the General of the Confederate Catholics, during his own lifetime. It stands within the communion rails against the south wall, and, no doubt, occupies the site of the ancient sedilia and piscina, which, it is much to be feared, have been destroyed.

The south transept is lighted by four lancets, and two foiled windows in the apex of the gable. The lancets are set in couplets in the west wall and south
Transepts. gable, and resemble the windows of the choir in plan and ornamentation. The escoinson shafts and bands have been removed—the latter broken off even with the wall. There were three sets of bands on the south windows, and two on the western ones, the former being much taller than the latter. The escoinson ribs are molded, but have not the dog-tooth ornament which occurs in the choir. The capitals are elegant in form and workmanship. When the western couplet was restored some years since to its original length, it was found that the bases of the escoinson shafts remained^a, but in the southern couplet they had been destroyed. The Lady chapel opens off this

^a When the monument of Bishop Pococke was changed, in 1853, from the choir screen to its present position beneath the western window of this transept, the base of the central escoinson shaft was removed to make room for a mitre

which surmounts the monument. The writer endeavoured to have the monument lowered, or the mitre, which did not form a part of the original monument, dispensed with; but the Chapter authorities seemed to think the proposition

transept by a plain unmolded arch in the eastern wall ; and a small door in the west wall gives access to a spiral stair, which leads to a short gallery in the upper part of the wall, opening into the transept by four small arches, and from thence by another spiral stair leading to the belfry and battlements of the tower. Originally, in both transepts, a molded string ran along the walls at the level of the bases of the windows ; a few portions of it still remain, but the greater part has been removed. In 1843, when the Foulkes and Cox monuments were removed to the south transept, and the wall of the gable was broken into to form bonds for their erection, it was ascertained that in the gable wall, near the south-east angle, a small "low side window" originally existed; it was splayed inwards, and its external opening might have been about 3 feet high, by 6 inches wide. The dressings were wanting at both the internal and external faces of the wall. In the same gable, at the opposite angle, were the remains of a low niche, apparently intended for a recumbent monumental effigy. The capitals of the jamb-shaft, enriched with foliage, and a portion of a richly molded arch, alone remained. The moldings were picked out in red, green, and black, the traces of the colours being quite apparent. The height of the jambs was about 3 feet 6 inches. The exact breadth of the niche it was impossible to ascertain. The windows of the north transept are similar to those of the south just described. Beneath the double lancet, in the north gable, there is a door which will be described in a subsequent page ; in the same wall, to the east of the door, is a niche wide and deep enough to accommodate a recumbent monumental effigy ; detached shafts and carved capitals support the arch, which is trefoiled and richly molded : human heads are much used in the ornamentation of this niche. To the west of the door occurs the carved stone seat already described (see page 75, *supra*), and supposed to have formed a portion of the original fittings of the choir. The parish church opens off this transept by a molded arch in the east wall ; and a door, with ogee-shaped arch and hood-mold, crowned by a poppy-head, affords admission to the north chapel. There is a small quatrefoil in the wall above this doorway, connected with a passage

derogatory to the episcopal dignity: the mitre was put up, and the ancient sculpture had to give way. Truly, Bishop Pococke was unfortunate, both in his life and death, with

regard to the architecture of the cathedral. The base is, however, preserved, with other fragments, in the small yard south of the choir, and may yet supplant the usurping mitre.

in the wall, which formerly gave access to the valleys formed by the roofs of this chapel and the parish church.

We now return to the south transept, and by the large arch in its eastern wall enter the Lady chapel.* This arch, originally much larger than it now is, was reduced, and a spurious imitation of Early English molding attached to its external face in plaster, when the consistorial court was re-erected here in 1837. In its present state it is difficult to judge of the proportions of this fine chapel. The eastern end is walled off to serve as the modern chapter-room, and the greater part of its once numerous windows are closed up with masonry. We can, however, imagine how fine the effect must have been when the continuous windows in the south side and eastern end were one resplendent sheet of stained glass. A glance at the plan, and a reference to the description of the exterior (see pp. 65, 79, *supra*) will give a clear idea of the arrangement of these windows. We will now proceed to describe their details. Each of the triplets in the south wall is surmounted by a richly molded escoinson arch, supported by detached shafts, the shafts being divided into two tiers by bands engaged in the splayed piers which separate the triplets. The lancets are subdivided by thin stone mullions, plates of the same thickness

* Although the Lady chapel of the abbey of St. John, Kilkenny (now serving as the modern parish church), was far superior to that of the cathedral in beauty of construction, there can be little doubt that the idea so exquisitely carried out by the conventual architect, and which caused his workmanship to be termed, "The lantern of Ireland," has been borrowed from the Lady chapel of the cathedral. The arrangement of the windows is nearly the same in both, the only difference being, that the eastern window of the Lady chapel of St. John's was filled in with tracery of a geometrical character, nearly identical with that which came into general use early in the fourteenth century. The size of the conventual chapel was also larger, measuring 51 feet by 24, inside the walls, and was lighted on the south side by five triplets, and to the east by a magnificent window, 15 feet 6 inches wide,

and 29 feet high, divided into five lights by four mullions, with tracery in the head. This window has suffered very much in the adaptation of the ruin to modern use, being now reduced to three lights, with a proportionate decrease of height. See *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. i. p. 434. It is worthy of remark that a native of Kilkenny was the architect of at least a portion of the abbey of St. John; indeed, there is no reason why we may not suppose the Nicholas Oweyn of the following extracts to have been the builder of the Lady chapel also. In some short Annals contained in the *Liber Primus* of the Corporation of Kilkenny (p. 57), we find the following record, written in the characters used towards the close of the fourteenth century, of which we give the original Latin, with a translation:—

"Anno M^oCC^oXX., die s^ti Johis Apli 7

filling up the spaces between the heads of the lancets and the escoinson vault; but there is no approach to plate tracery. This peculiarity is, however, found in the eastern window, each double lancet having a quatrefoil pierced in the tympanum above their apexes. The double lancets are separated by narrow splayed piers, carrying detached escoinson shafts and arches, the latter richly molded, and, in the case of the central compartment, very much stilted to give it height above its fellows. All these windows, but more especially the eastern ones, have been shortened or blocked up to suit the purposes of a chapter-room* and consistorial court, to which the chapel has been in modern times appropriated. The escoinson shafts of the windows have been removed, except in one instance, but a good many of the engaged bands remain, and the sculptured ornaments have nearly all escaped demolition.

A doorway in the north wall of the Lady chapel, ornamented by some very rude Perpendicular carvings, showing it to have been subsequent to Bishop Hackett's time, leads into the ancient chapter-house, now occupied by the stairs to the south gallery of the choir. The apartment is vaulted, but from the manner in which the vault cuts across the head of the small triplet with which the east end is pierced, it is evident that the roof was originally

Evangle celebrata fuit p^{ma} missa in maiori altari beati Johis Kylkenn'.

"Anno M^oCC^o. nonagesio, die anunciacois be Mar' celebrat' fuit p^{ma} missa in capella be Mar' in monastio s^{ti} Johis Kylkenn'.

"Anno M^oCCC^oXXV., Nichus Oweyn de Kylk' incepit cōstruer^e oēs novas domas (sic) circa f^m oim s^{tor}., t^e alia opa in domo s^{ti} Johis Kylkenny."

"In the year 1220, on the feast of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, the first mass was celebrated at the high altar of St. John, Kilkenny.

"In the year 1290, on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, the first mass was celebrated in the Lady chapel of the monastery of St. John, Kilkenny.

"In the year 1325, about the feast of All Saints, Nicholas Oweyn, of Kilkenny, began to

construct all the new domestic buildings, and the other works in the house [monastery] of St. John, Kilkenny."

The date of the completion of the Lady chapel of St. John's abbey being thus fixed, the erection of the corresponding portion of the cathedral must be placed, at least, ten years earlier, i. e., about the close of the episcopacy of Geffry St. Leger, thus affording a strong confirmation of Ware's assertion that St. Leger put "the last hand to the building of his church" (vol. i., p. 406); for this chapel is undeniably the latest part of the structure, with the exception of Bishop Hackett's restoration of the tower vaulting.

* The chapter-room is fitted up in execrable taste, but contains a small Early English trefoiled and canopied niche, supported by detached shafts, within which is placed the dean's seat. It

of timber. The space (at present uncovered), which adjoins the old chapter-house on the west, would seem to have originally formed a part of the latter, as the skew-table of the roofing, and the doors and passage which gave access to the valley, are apparent in the wall of the transept which bounds this yard on the west^a. The stair turret, leading from this yard to the battlements of the choir, appears to have been erected at the period of the vaulting of the chapter-house; it is not bonded into the choir wall.

In our survey of the appendages of the cathedral, we now pass on to the north chapel, to which, as already observed, entrance is obtained through a pointed doorway surmounted by an ogee-shaped hood-mold terminated by a poppy-head and corbelled by quaint figures of angels. Perhaps it would be more correct to call this apartment the north choir aisle; but until the arches, which probably served to connect it with the choir, are actually proved to exist, it is safer to denominate it as above^b. Ere disfigured by the stairs to the north gallery of the choir, and other obstructions at its west end, it must have possessed much beauty. Its style is pure Early English, and some of the details of its ornamentation are very good. It was originally lighted by a triple lancet window to the east, of which the two side lights and all the sculpture are now concealed by lath-and-plaster work. To the north are three windows, each consisting of two small lancets, divided by a slender mullion, comprised beneath a single escoinson vault internally, but appearing separate on the outside^c. The couplets are divided internally by massive straight-sided piers, adorned

has, probably, been removed from the ancient chapter-house, where it would be originally associated with appropriate stalls of carved stone for the rest of the Chapter.

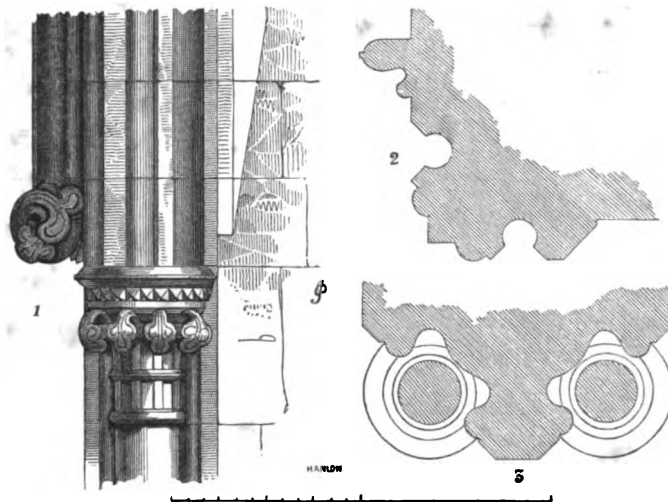
^a The fragments of monuments and carved stonework which were scattered about the church-yard, or had been turned up in the course of excavations, were collected by Dean Vignoles, and placed in this yard, where they still remain. Amongst them are the fragments of several of the crosses which adorned the gables of the cathedral. Tradition has it, that the removal of these crosses was arrested at the western gable, where alone a cross is now to be found, by a

swarm of bees, which attacked and drove away the defacers of the sacred emblem.

^b The absence of the large arch opening into the transept, a feature which occurs in the Lady chapel and parish church, and is almost always to be found where a side chapel was designed, favours the notion that this compartment was originally built as a north aisle to the choir. Should the latter be at any future time remodelled, the loss of room occasioned by the removal of the galleries might easily be compensated by the restoration of the north aisle to its original purpose.

^c The germ of the idea, more fully expanded

with nook-shafts, which carry the richly molded escoinson ribs. The accompanying cut, fig. 1, represents the arrangement of the most western of the win-



No. 18.

dow jambs, with its nook-shaft, capital, hood-mold, and escoinson rib. The capital is worthy of notice, being carved to represent a circle of leaves, their stalks confined by one band, and their foliage curling over another, which, with the leaves, is deeply undercut. Fig. 2 gives the section of the escoinson rib, and hood-mold; and fig. 3 that of one of the piers separating the windows, with its nook-shafts and their bases. The north windows are 6 feet high to the spring of arch. It is much to be regretted that the fine carving of these windows is clogged with whitewash, and still more so that a modern *improvement* has been perpe-

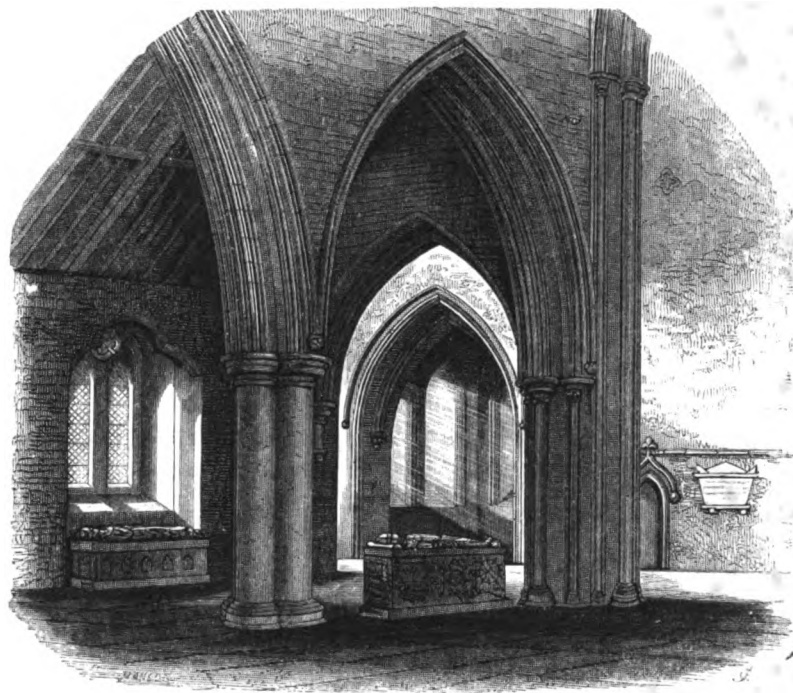
in the lighting of the Lady chapel of the cathedral, and which arrived at its complete development in the Lady chapel of St. John's abbey, may be found in the arrangement of the windows here described.

The gradual introduction of tracery into the windows of Gothic churches is well illustrated in this cathedral. We have simple lancets, single, or grouped, but still divided by piers, as in the

parish church, choir, and other parts; double and triple lancets comprised beneath one escoinson arch, but with the tympanum unpierced, as in the north chapel and south lights of the Lady chapel, which also show the displacement of the pier by the slender mullion; whilst plate tracery makes its appearance in the east lights of the Lady chapel and side-aisle windows, where the tympanum is pierced by a quatrefoil.

O

trated in the case of the central window, the two lancets having been formed into one squat aperture. The two remaining windows are blocked up with masonry, but the dressings of the old lancets remain, and they might be easily restored. It is most desirable, also, that the east window of this chapel should be freed from the weather-slating which disfigures its exterior aspect, and the lath-and-plaster which blocks up two of its compartments internally.

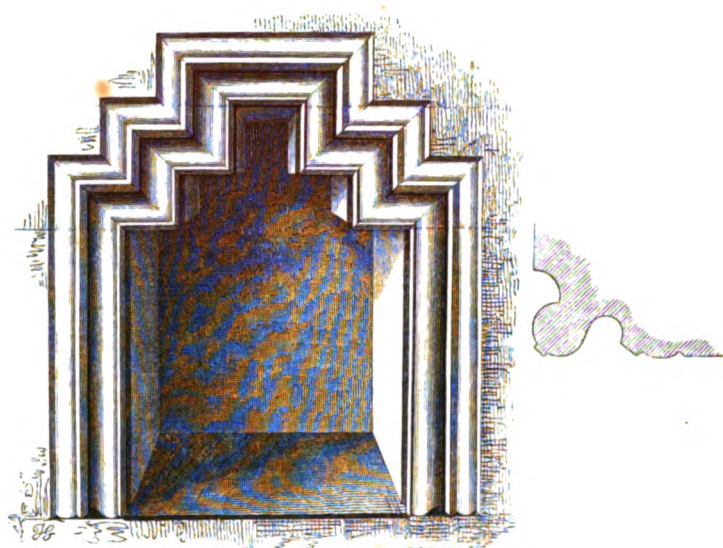


No. 19.

The parish church next presents itself; it opens off the north transept by an arch of considerable size, richly molded on its external edge, and also furnished with a molded sub-arch, corbelled off at the spring. The woodcut here given shows the parish church as seen through one of the arches of the nave. The north and east walls are pierced each by two plain lancets, and there is a large and deep round-arched panel in the south wall, the intention of which is not easily discovered; its lower part is about six feet

Parish
church.

from the floor, and directly beneath the centre of it is inserted an aumbrey, the singular form of which will be best understood from the accompanying illustration, drawn to a scale of three-fourths of an inch to a foot: a section of its moldings is also given. Whether this chapel was that originally designed to



No. 20.

supply the place of the parish church of St. Canice, when the cathedral occupied its site, cannot now be ascertained. It appears, however, that the Lady chapel was used for parochial purposes in the early part of the seven-

MS. de Ossoriensi Dioc., section 28.

teenth century. The material used in the greater portion of the internal decorative work of the cathedral is the limestone of the district, but with this is mixed up much of a fine-grained yellowish sandstone. In some instances an entire group of moldings is carried round an arch in the latter material, the remainder being of limestone; sometimes blocks of limestone and sandstone are used alternately; and in many instances no settled rule is followed, the blocks being apparently set as they came to hand. The sandstone must have been procured either from the old red sandstone beds in the south of the county of Kilkenny, or from the coal-measure grits near Castlecomer. The carriage, in either case, could not

be less than nine miles, and it is singular that so much trouble should have been taken to provide this stone, when limestone, a material of a far more durable character, was to be found close at hand. This partiality to "freestone" was, however, common to all the builders of our ancient churches.

When treating of the various parts of the building, a description of the several doors of entrance was purposely deferred. We will now proceed to describe them. The entrance doorways are at present four in number^a, viz., one to the west, one to the south, and two^b to the north. Of these the western entrance is, as usual in all cathedrals, the most elaborately adorned. The view on the opposite page, which has been engraved after a careful drawing made from a photograph, shows that this doorway consists externally of a recessed pointed arch, with a double aperture beneath; the arch is enriched with two orders of moldings deeply undercut, in both of which the roll and fillet occur; each group springs from a capital charged with the peculiar foliage of the period, and these again rest on detached nook-shafts. The heads of the doorways are cinque-foiled, and a slender engaged shaft runs up the face of the central pier, from the capital of which branch off the hood-molds of each doorway. The tympanum is enriched with a recessed and molded quatrefoiled panel, within which is a small pedestal, no doubt originally intended to support some piece of sculpture, most probably the Virgin and Child, as the mutilated figures of adoring angels, with their faces turned towards the large panel just described, still remain in two smaller ones at each side: in the spaces between these are four well-sculptured bosses of foliage. The material employed is the gray limestone of the district, intermixed with freestone; wherever the former occurs, the sculptures are nearly as sharp and well preserved as if but lately executed; while the latter, from its porous nature, has yielded to our moist and varying climate, and is much decayed. Still, taken as a whole, the lapse of six centuries has left this beautiful doorway in good preservation. The engraving on the next page illustrates some of its most characteristic details. Fig. 1 is an elevation of a part of the north jamb: the design of the capitals is particularly beautiful, the stems of the leaves running up the neck of the capital and curling over in the bell:

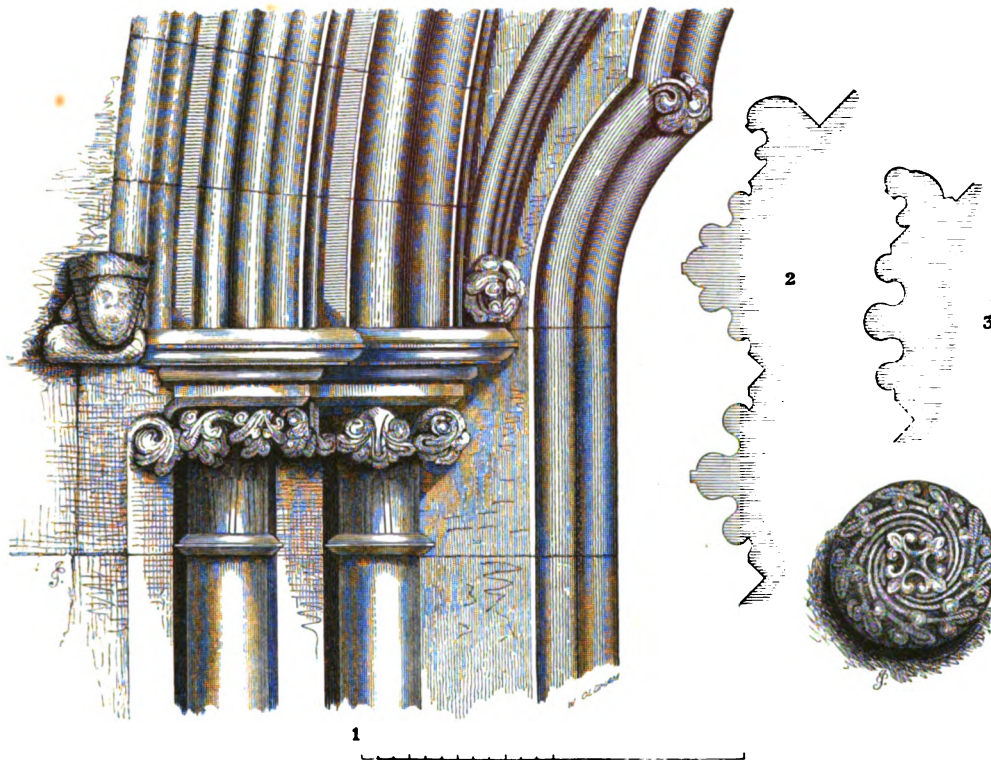
^a There is no trace of a priest's door to the choir, unless, perhaps, the "low side window," already alluded to (see p. 70, *supra*), may have occupied its site. The chapter-house appears originally to have had an external door, but it has been closed up.



The West Door, Cathedral of St. Canice.

Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co.

the foliage is the conventional representation of vine-leaves and clusters then in use. Fig. 2 is a section of the arch-mold. Fig. 3 shows a section of the molding

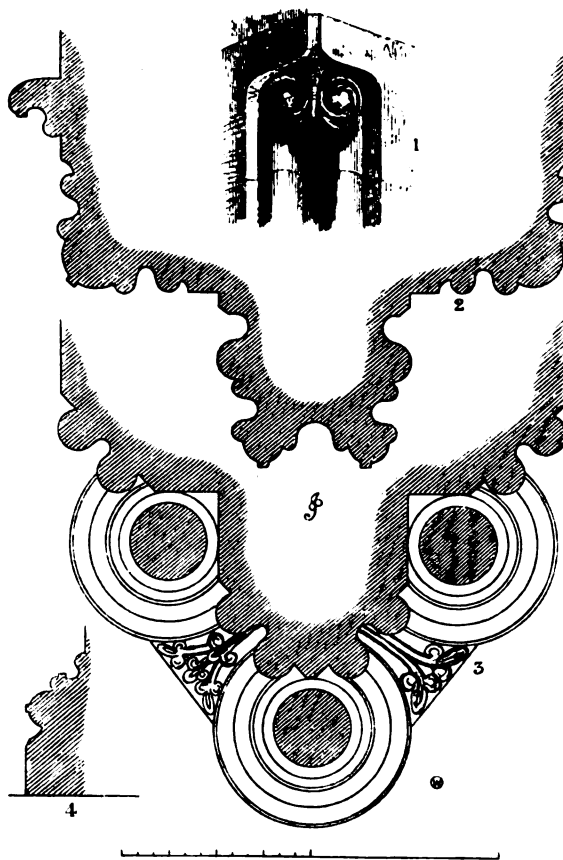


No. 21.

of the quatrefoiled panel : a specimen of one of the carved bosses is also given. It is much to be regretted that the woodwork of the doors, which now occupy the place of the ancient ones, is a wretched specimen of the commonest rectangular panelling: a plain surface, well studded with large-headed nails, and ornamented by hinges of scrolled ironwork, would be a great improvement. Internally this doorway is nearly devoid of ornament, the arris being continuously sculptured with a double roll-molding ; the arch is of the segmental kind, surmounted by a hood-mold, with terminal bosses of foliage. Of the view through the open doors, which is very fine, the accompanying plate gives as good an idea as could be represented on so small a scale. The principal

dimensions of this doorway are as follows:—Total width, 14 feet; height of jambs to spring of arch, 7 feet 4 inches.

The south entrance, or porch, comes next in order and importance. It has received little injury, if we except the removal of the detached jamb-shafts* and finial cross. An elevation, carefully drawn to scale, is given on the opposite page, and shows the gable, with external and internal arches of entrance. The accompanying woodcut gives some of the details of the external archway. Fig. 1 represents the termination of the molded arris of the jamb. Fig. 2 is a section of the arch and hood-mold. Fig. 3 is a plan of the south jamb, showing the bases of its three shafts, and including a section of its moldings. Fig. 4 is a section of the base-mold of one of the shafts. The capitals of the shafts are carved with the foliage of the period, and are besides ornamented by the introduction of tonsured and mitred heads. The hood-mold is also corbelled off with human heads. Near the apex of the gable, which still retains its original barge-course, is a quatrefoiled panel inclosed in a circle, which, possibly, was intended to contain some sculpture; the kneelers of the barge-course are molded underneath, and, no doubt, this molding was continued along the eave, but, the roof having been lowered in its pitch, the eave



No. 22.

* These shafts have been inserted in the drawing. The writer proposed to the Chapter to restore them by private subscription; but permission to do so was not granted by that body.

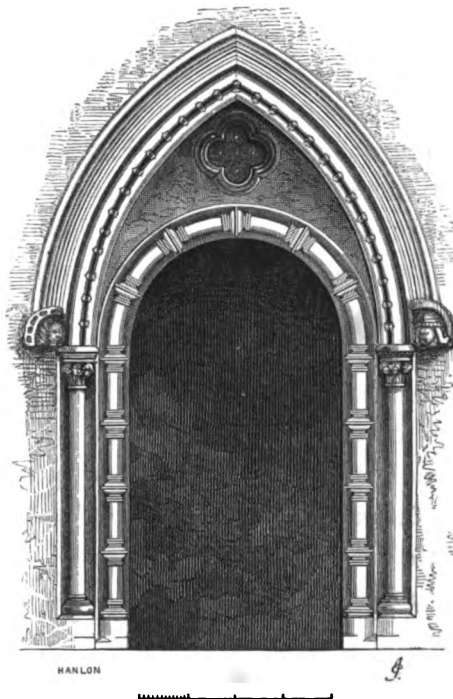


The Porch. Cathedral of St. Canice.

Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co.

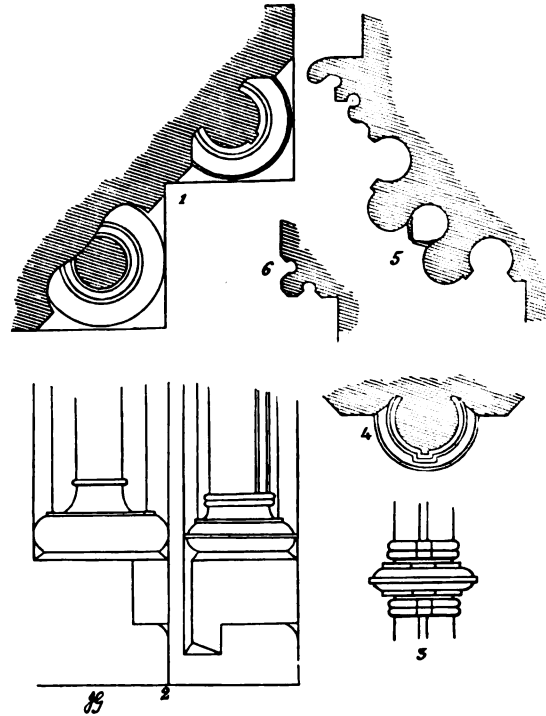
molding has been removed. The external arch measures 7 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to the spring, and is 8 feet 4 inches wide. It was not adapted for the reception of a door. The internal entrance is 6 feet 8 inches wide, and of much plainer design, the arch-mold being carried by a single nook-shaft at each side, the capitals of which are sculptured with foliage; the arrises of the jambs, both externally and internally, are ornamented by double roll-moldings, with deep hollows between. The hood-mold is supported by corbelled heads. Internally the jambs are carried up much higher than on the outside, and surmounted by a drop-arch of the segmental character. The material used in the decoration of the porch is exclusively limestone.

The north door of the nave, which, as shown in the illustration facing p. 102, is exactly opposite the porch entrance, does not need a detailed notice, as it is almost a fac-simile of the internal porch door; we will, therefore, pass on to the entrance door of the north transept, which, although not by any means the most beautiful, is, perhaps, the most interesting feature of its kind in the church. It is constructed altogether of soft yellow sandstone, and has, in consequence, suffered very much from time and ill usage. The drawing, which is here engraved, represents a careful restoration of this doorway, made with scrupulous fidelity, and to an accurate scale. Of its present condition it will be sufficient to observe, that the nook-shafts are removed, their bases and capitals much defaced, and that all the floral ornaments, save one, are gone from the deep hollow in the arch-mold. It was found impossible to give a clear representation of the corbels which carry the hood-mold, but their remains prove them to have been human heads, carved with flowing hair, and beardless. The feature of a round arch beneath a



No. 23.

pointed one, which this door presents, is one of its chief peculiarities; but this does not prove it to be of earlier date than the remainder of the structure, as the ornaments of this very round arch are strictly Early English in their character, consisting of an attached and filleted roll of large size, banded at short intervals, and carried round the jambs and arch continuously. The details, here represented, are worthy of attention. Fig. 1 shows a section and plan of the jamb; fig. 2 gives an elevation of the same; fig. 3, an elevation of the filleted roll, and one of its bands; fig. 4, a section and plan of the same—all drawn to a scale of one inch to a foot. Fig. 5 represents a section of the arch and hood-mold; and fig. 6, a section of the mold of the small shallow quatrefoil panel with which the tympanum is ornamented: both of these sections are to a scale of half an



No. 24.

inch to a foot. The annexed engraving is from a drawing of the floral enrichment of the arch-mold; it was quite undercut, as the section, fig. 5, already given, shows. This example is from the apex of the arch, all the others have been broken away, but their places of attachment may be traced still. As in the case of the other doorways, the internal arch does not conform to the external, the former being flat and segmental; its arrises are simply chamfered.



No. 25.

Having thus brought the architectural description of the cathedral to a close, a few observations on the present state of the fabric, and the feasibility of a thorough restoration, may be allowed, ere we proceed to a survey of the round

Tower,—that witness of an antiquity, which, at the least, more than doubles the six centuries whose winter storms and summer suns leave their stamp of age on the neighbouring church.

It has already been observed, that the cathedral church of Ossory, however we may deplore the disfigurement of some of its architectural features, has suffered little positive loss by the action of time, or the far more destructive hand of man. Its sculptured decorations are, except in a few instances, in excellent preservation, and simply require the removal of the obstructions by which they are in some instances concealed from view, and a careful cleansing to free them from the accumulated coats of whitewash with which many of them are still clogged and disguised^a. Its walls seem but to have become more compact and firm by the lapse of centuries^b, and the plumb-line shows them to be as upright as when first erected. With ordinary care of the water-tables and roofs, the structure bids fair for a duration as protracted as that which has elapsed since its foundation. That the Dean and Chapter will feel it to be their first duty to keep “stiff and staunch” the venerable building^c, to the care of which they have succeeded, we do not doubt; and therefore beg leave to recall to their notice the judicious remarks which con-

^a Old whitewash is best removed by scrubbing with sand and water—the latter being previously acidulated with about .04 of its weight of commercial hydrochloric acid. The commonest variety of the acid, to be had for 1*d.* or 1½*d.* per pound, should be used for the purpose.—*The Builder*, vol. xiv. p. 278. The use of the chisel should, by all means, be avoided.

^b It is now generally acknowledged that the compactness of ancient mortar is due (in every case, of course, allowing for the employment of pure sand and good lime in the requisite proportions) to the action of time, which transmutes it again to stone, restoring to the lime the character it possessed ere it was calcined.

^c The gutters, downpipes, and water-tables are at present in a most defective condition. This, coupled with the recent expenditure of nearly £1000 on the purchase of a new organ,

and the recasting of the peal of bells, at a time when the Chapter were in possession of a competent opinion on the dangerous condition of the roof of the nave, does not say much for the foresight of that body. If, as we are credibly informed, it is the opinion of professional men, that the roof of the great central aisle of the nave is in such a precarious state that its fall may occur at any moment; and if, as we believe to be the case, the fine organ is already so much injured by damp, as to render it impossible to use its larger pipes, the glue having in many cases given way, and this in consequence of the damp with which the walls are saturated, and the defective state of the roof,—it would surely have been more judicious to have rendered the fabric staunch throughout, before these very desirable, but not strictly necessary, appendages were provided.

P

clude a report on the condition of the fabric, laid before that body in the year 1813, by the late William Robertson, architect. They are as follows :—

“ Whatever repairs are attempted to be made, let them be done permanently, and in such a manner as not to require to be done again: the contrary practice, namely, the employment of temporary expedients, the use of old and bad materials, and patching, &c., will be found to deserve the name of extravagance and waste. A small revenue, thus applied incessantly, and with regularity, will in a few years rid the Chapter of the heavy expense now incurred by hasty and bad repairs injudiciously applied, and restore to Kilkenny a building well deserving of being handed down to posterity as a model of chasteness of style and simplicity of design, in both of which it certainly is not surpassed, if it is equalled, by any building that Ireland possesses.”

To this we would add, that were the Dean and Chapter to procure from a competent architect a set of judicious plans, with the necessary working drawings and specifications, for the remodelling of the choir, and thorough restoration* of the entire building, including new open roofs and the raising of the tower, it would be but the work of time to make the cathedral as beautiful as when it came fresh from the hands of its original builders. It may be objected that the funds at the disposal of the Chapter are small, and that the cost thus incurred would be a useless expenditure. The reply to this is, that £50, £60, or even £100, thus laid out, would in the end prove conducive to the economical administration of the Chapter funds. That body would no longer be at the mercy of every petty builder or tradesman employed by them; they could see clearly what they were about; and when funds were available for any necessary change or repair, they could proceed so far in the right direction, and that without the uncomfortable reflection, which ill-advised outlay ever brings

* When we use the word “restoration,” it may be well to guard against the idea that we would wish every injured portion of the carved stonework to be taken out and replaced, even in fac-simile. Let the old work stand as a record of the skill and taste of the olden builders. It matters little though it be more or less defaced; if any of it remain, and that the stability of the fabric do not require its renewal, we would have no modern hand meddle with it. It

gives us pleasure to be enabled to record the judicious restoration of the north-western clerestory window to the nave, to the temporary blocking-up of which we have already alluded. Its renovation, effected whilst these sheets were passing through the press, is due to the exertions of the Rev. Luke Fowler, prebendary of Aghour, who procured, by subscription amongst his friends, and the members of the Chapter, the sum necessary for that purpose.

with it, that all must be done over again, if ever a thorough restoration of the fabric be attempted.

With regard to the best plan for the remodelling of the choir, it appears evident, that the formation of arches in its north and south walls, so as to make the ancient chapter-house and north chapel serve as aisles, would permit the present unsightly galleries to be dispensed with, and answer all the purposes required. It has already been suggested that the north chapel is in reality an aisle to the choir, and that the necessary arches exist in the wall, although now blocked up. That this arrangement would interfere much less with the effects of the interior, and be more convenient than the removal of the organ screen to the western arch of the tower, thus including the two transepts in the space required for public worship, cannot, we think, be reasonably disputed.

We will now close this digression by pointing out the advantages which attend the use of plain green glass in church windows, where stained glass cannot be obtained. It is as cheap as the common white glass, much stronger, and its effect is very good, sobering down the light, and harmonizing admirably with the gray tint of our Kilkenny limestone. The windows of the cathedral will presently require to be newly glazed, and whether the lattice-work is constructed of lead or cast-iron,—and we trust the former will be chosen,—this description of glass will be found the most desirable material to form the quarries.—J. G.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROUND TOWER.

IT is beyond the scope of this work to enter at large on the much-vexed question of the age and purpose of those singular pillar towers to be found in close proximity to so many of the ancient churches of Ireland, and of which a fine example stands 6 feet 6 inches from the eastern gable buttress of the southern transept of the cathedral of St. Canice*. Suffice it to say, that, although we do not hold the subject to have been completely cleared of the doubt and mystery with which it has been so long shrouded, yet we avow ourselves to have been convinced by the able and learned author of the *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland*, that these structures are of a date posterior to the introduction of Christianity into this island, and that they are, what Giraldus Cambrensis termed them more than six centuries ago, "*turres ecclesiasticæ*." Dr. Petrie, in the work already cited, holds that they served for the three-fold purpose of—1. Belfries; 2. Places of refuge and defence for the clergy of the neighbouring church or churches, as also for the safe custody of the books, treasures, and relics of the church; and 3. Occasionally as watch-towers.

The Round Tower of St. Canice is 100 feet in height; its circumference at the base, and above the plinth, is 46 feet 6 inches; the diameter to external surface of walls is, at the base 15 feet 6 inches, at the windows of the top

* See plan at p. 65, *supra*. The position of the towers, in relation to their coeval churches, was generally to the west, north-west, or south-west, to be near the door of the church in the west gable. The traces of the old church of St. Canice (see plan) show that here the tower stood near the south-west angle. Of sixteen towers, the bearings of which were communicated to us by Mr. Henry O'Neill, two are south of the church; two, south-south-west; one, south-west; one, west-south-west; three, west; one west-north-west; three, north-west; and one, north-north-west; one stands south-east, and one, north-east.

A TABULAR VIEW OF THE DIMENSIONS OF THE ROUND TOWER OF ST. CANICE.

Storey.	Observations on the internal arrangement of each storey.	Height of each storey.		Width of offset.	Internal diameters of each storey.			Thickness of wall.	Door.			Windows.						Height of each sill above offset.										
		Ft.	In.		Lower diameter.	Diameter at six feet above offset.	Upper diameter.		Width of door at sill.	Width of door at spring of arch.	Height of door to crown of arch.	Internal dimensions.		External dimensions.														
		Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.			
1.	The height of this storey is measured from the pavement, uncovered in the course of the examination of the base of the Tower in 1847, to the first offset.	11	4	7	9	7	9	3	9½	2	0	1	10	4	8½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2.	The stones are not dressed to the exact curve internally. The walls swell out at 6 or 7 feet above the first offset, and thus the next offset is formed. This arrangement is repeated in each storey. The door sill is 9 feet 2 inches above the external base course of the Tower, and bears S. by E.	13	0	8	0	7	10	7	8	3	1½	2	0	4	8½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	8
3.	The stones not dressed to correct curve. There is one row of putlock holes internally. The window bears N. by W.	13	1	7	10	7	8½	6	11	3	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
4.	Better finished than No. 3. Two rows of putlock holes. The window bears E. by N.	13	9½	7	7	7	0	7	7½	3	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4
5.	Internal finish same as No. 4. Two rows of putlock holes, and six projecting stones or corbels, irregularly placed. The window bears S. by E.	14	8	7	1	6	9	6	5	3	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7½
6.	Internal finish good. One row of putlock holes and four projecting stones irregularly placed. The window bears W. by N.	13	1	6	10½	6	5	6	0	2	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5
7.	This storey has no window. Two rows of putlock holes, and six projecting stones irregularly placed, some of which project so much as to render the floor inconvenient for occupation.	13	6	6	7	5	11	5	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8.	The internal masonry good. The six windows are equidistant, A and D bearing E. by S. and W. by N. The south jamb of A has been broken away to admit of access to the roof.	6	4	6	8	..	5	9	2	7½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	10½

storey, 11 feet 2 inches; it therefore batters or diminishes towards the summit, externally, 2 feet 2 inches. It is divided into eight storeys by internal set-offs. In the first storey no aperture was formed; the second contains the doorway; the third, a large window nearly over the door^a; the fourth, fifth, and sixth storeys are each furnished with one small window; the seventh is quite dark; but the eighth is a complete lantern, being pierced by six large openings. Annexed is a tabular view of the dimensions of all the parts from actual admeasurement. The mode here adopted is suggested, with much diffidence however, as a method whereby the dimensions of the Round Towers, generally, may be registered. The presence of floors, and means of communication between them, enabled the writer to make the Table tolerably complete^b. Had we the dimensions and peculiarities of all the Round Towers of Ireland similarly tabulated, it might go far to settle some of the questions concerning them. The external elevation of the Round Tower of St. Canice will be found in the general view of the cathedral from the south-east, already given at p. 80, *supra*.

When the accumulated earth was removed from the external base of the Round Tower in 1846, a plinth or projecting base-course about six inches wide was exposed. It was at first supposed, from the apparent necessity of a secure foundation, that this plinth, with perhaps another lower set-off, would be found resting on the compact limestone gravel of the ridge which is crowned by the cathedral and Round Tower: however, on examination, it plainly appeared to all present, amongst whom was the writer, that the plinth already discovered constituted the sole foundation of the superincumbent masonry, and that this plinth, which was not more than about two feet in depth, rested, not on

^aThis aperture is considerably larger than any of the other windows, except those in the top storey. Dr. Petrie has observed the almost universal occurrence of a large window, or, as he terms it, second door, immediately over the doorway proper, and supposes the object to have been defensive.—*Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers, &c.*, 4to, pp. 397–8, 408, 411.

^b These floors, with their connecting stairs, were erected on the original set-offs of the Tower

in the autumn of 1847, chiefly by the private liberality of the Dean of Ossory, the Very Rev. Charles Vignoles, D. D., at a cost of £20. The joists are of substantial oak, and the floors and stairs of pine. A friend suggests the expediency of the formation of a "Flooring Society," in order to render all the Towers similarly easy of access for the purpose of measurement. Until this is done, reasoning as to their uses will, in the absence of correct data, be mostly hypothetical.

the gravel, but *on a black and yielding mould*, from which protruded human bones in an east and west direction,—a fact in the architectural history of the tower afterwards fully confirmed by a careful examination of its internal base, to be described hereafter. The plinth is composed of moderate-sized stones, not over carefully put together. Above the plinth, the masonry is ashlar work, irregularly coursed and carefully spawled, the stones, of moderate size, being accurately dressed to the curve and batter, and the joints well broken^a; the inclination or batter of the walls forming a right line. The material used is principally the mountain limestone of the district, intermixed for about twenty feet above the ground with the dolomite, or dove-coloured cavernous magnesian limestone, found at Archer's Grove, and other places, a short distance north and west of the city of Kilkenny. A few stones, from the grits either of the coal measures, or the old red sandstone, are also to be seen, especially about the doorway^b. The mortar is extremely compact, and was abundantly used in the construction of the tower. The doorway, as shown in the accom-

^a "In their masonic construction," remarks Dr. Petrie, when speaking of the masonry of the Round Towers, "they present a considerable variety: but the generality of them are built in that kind of careful masonry called spawled rubble, in which small stones, shaped by the hammer, in default of suitable stones at hand, are placed in every interstice of the larger stones, so that very little mortar appears to be intermixed in the body of the wall; and thus the outside of spawled masonry, especially, presents an almost uninterrupted surface of stone, supplementary splinters being carefully inserted in the joints of the undried wall. Such, also, is the style of masonry of the most ancient churches; but it should be added that, in the interior of the walls of both, grouting is abundantly used. In some instances, however, the towers present a surface of ashlar masonry,—but rarely laid in courses perfectly regular,—both externally and internally, though more usually on the exterior only; and, in a few instances, the lower portions of the towers exhibit less of regularity than the

upper parts."—*Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 356.

^b The predilection for granite or sandstone evinced by the ecclesiastics who carved the ancient crosses, and built the primitive churches and Round Towers of Ireland, is curious, and has not been hitherto satisfactorily explained. The distance to which granite or sandstone crosses of enormous size and weight were carried by them, when the material could not be procured on the spot, is proved by the frequently occurring legend of miraculous agency applied to their transport. At Kilkenny, in the centre of a limestone district, we find these builders trying the gray dolomite, because it looked like sandstone,—although it forms, in consequence of its cavernous nature, an indifferent building stone,—and transporting large blocks of sandstone from a distance of eight or nine miles. The superior quality of the limestone, however, soon recommended itself to the favour of the builders of the Round Tower of St. Canice, and we find, as above observed, the great mass of the structure composed of it.

panying engraving, is devoid of ornament; it has inclined jambs, and a semi-circular head, composed of three stones, which run through the wall, but are not put together on the true principle of the arch, the door-head being rather cut out of, than formed of, them: their two upper joints are not straight lines, being slightly dished, or curved, to receive the *quasi* key-stone. The annexed



No. 26.

representation, drawn on the block by the writer with the most scrupulous care, and faithfully engraved by Mr. Hanlon, of Dublin, shows the external appearance of the doorway, taken before the joints of the lower part of the tower were pointed with mortar, some years since: the scale is an inch to half a foot. The two stones which form the sill^a are of the mountain limestone, the jambs

^a A third stone was added internally when the tower was furnished with floors in 1847.

are composed of dolomite, and the stones of the head are of grit. The jointing and dressing of the jambs, but especially of the head, are very carefully executed, in fine punched work. Just below the spring of the arch on the east side, two of three stones forming a course are slightly higher than the third, and the superincumbent arch stone is accurately "joggled" to suit the inequality. The external surface of the stones forming the doorway is much weathered: internally, instead of following the curve of the tower, the wall is worked to a flat, so that a door larger than the opening would lie against it, and the upper stone of the head has an oblong stop, projecting internally to prevent the door being prized up. Before the recent alterations there was a massive hanging-iron for a door embedded in the upper stone of the western jamb internally, and indications of a corresponding appliance for a second hinge below. These irons seemed to be contemporary with the doorway itself. The windows of the tower are all flat-headed, with inclined sides; they are of finely punched stone, and well worked.

Internally the presence of floors and connecting stairs enables us to make a closer examination of the peculiarities of the tower than is possible in most other structures of a similar kind. Ascending from floor to floor, one cannot fail of being struck by a remarkable feature, namely, that the windows are placed so low (on an average about one foot above the floor, see Table facing p. 109, *supra*) as to render each storey totally inappropriate, either for lengthened residence or for the convenient storage of goods, except on shelves or pegs. Even for defensive purposes, the apes (if large enough, which they are not) are placed inconveniently low. Indeed, the unsuitableness of the structure for any save a passive resistance, is apparent to the most casual observer; and, to add to the inappropriateness of the storeys for living in, the ends of thorough stones, left projecting here and there, are very much in the way, giving the visitor an unpleasant intimation of their position by frequent contact with the head. All through, the inner surface of the walls is less carefully built than the outside; the stones are rudely hammered, and rarely to the proper curve. It must also be looked on as a strong presumptive proof that these buildings were, like our tall factory chimneys, constructed "over-hand," or from the inside, without external scaffolding, when we find, as we do in the tower at present under consideration, rows of putlock holes in the *internal* face of the wall,

whilst there are none outside. There are tiers of these holes, generally one, but sometimes two, in the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh storeys; the first and second could be reached by means of a slight scaffolding externally, and the cap, or conical termination (there being little doubt that the tower was originally, in common with others, thus finished at top), built from a platform placed on beams run out from the large windows of the eighth storey^a. It is, indeed, extremely probable, that to this constructive necessity is owing the lantern form of the storey immediately beneath the cap in all the towers—the opes being of sufficient size to allow of the projection of scaffolding, and egress and regress to the workmen employed; whilst at the same time they partly served for the emission of sound^b. The six windows of the eighth storey of the tower of St. Canice are placed without reference to the cardinal points of the compass. The dolomite is used in their dressings along with limestone, the former sparingly. The workmanship of all is good, and the joints carefully dressed. The existing roof is formed by a vault, slightly domed, having a rise of barely seven and a half inches in the centre; it is composed for the most part of dressed blocks of sandstone, some of which remain, unused, in the windows, and were, probably, constituent parts of the old conical cap. The impressions of the boards which formed the centreing are still apparent. Above the vault are laid thin flags of limestone, and there are small square

^a The head of the Round Tower of Antrim has the marks of the internal “drum” of wicker work round which the masons worked. That the person believed to be saved, by the miraculous interposition of an angel, as recorded by Adamnan in his *Life of St. Columba*, lib. iii., cap. xv., was employed, externally, in the construction of the cap of a Round Tower, “culmen magnæ domus,” or “monasterii rotundi,” when he fell, is, we think, apparent. The miraculous agency does not affect the inference. See the passage quoted in full, with the author’s reasoning thereon, in Petrie’s *Inquiry into the Origin, &c.*, pp. 382–4.

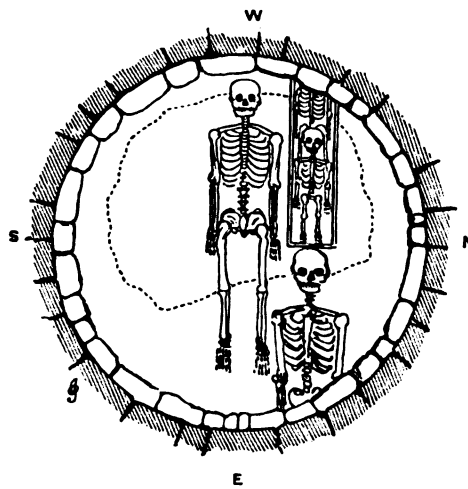
^b A writer in the *Builder*, vol. xiv., p. 23, says that the notes of bells are improved by their ele-

vation, 100 feet not being too high even for the smallest. That the Round Towers contained bells in the eleventh century, when hand-bells were exclusively used in Ireland, appears from the *Four Masters*, who state, in the year 1020, the cloictheach of Armagh, “with its bells,” was burned.—*Four Masters*, vol. ii. p. 797. That, however, they were occasionally furnished with bells of larger size than those commonly used, is apparent from the record by the same writers, *sub ann.* 1552, that “Clonmacnoise was plundered and devastated by the English of Athlone; and the large bells were taken from the cloictheach. There was not left, moreover, a bell, small or large which was not carried off.”—*Id.*, vol. v. p. 1592.

holes in the sailing course of the parapet which surrounds the top, to allow the water to run off. The parapet is much ruined, having been loosely built of small stones; its thickness is about 1 foot 2 inches. That the vaulted roof and its appurtenances are more modern than the remainder of the tower is, we think, evident, for—1st, if the original design contemplated a flat arch, with parapet, and stair to roof, all would have been provided for in the construction of the tower; but, 2ndly, this is not the case: on the contrary, the jamb of one of the windows (that marked A in the Table of Dimensions), together with its lintel, have been broken away, and formed into a rude stair; whilst, 3rdly, at this point, where the thickness of the vault is exposed, there is an arch constructed of regularly dressed voussoirs, the face of which is flat, and does not coincide with the curve of the wall, which must have been the case had it been in existence previous to the breach made in the latter. It would appear, that, at a period subsequent to the construction of the cap, in order the better to adapt the tower to a look-out station, the original conical termination was removed, and the present vault and parapet erected in its place.

The internal base of the tower had been, beyond memory, filled with accumulated rubbish to within 2 feet 8 inches, or thereabouts, of the sill of the doorway. As it was most desirable that this extraneous matter should be removed, and the base examined, the Dean of Ossory commenced to excavate in the July of 1847; and we now place on record the mode of proceeding, and the character of the different deposits. The first stratum removed was 4 feet 6 inches thick; it consisted chiefly of the "guano" of birds, intermixed with which were stones, some human bones, and the bones of several of the inferior animals, as of the horse, cow, calf, sheep, pig, and of various fowls. The human bones, amongst which was a skull of singularly idiotic conformation, occurred near the surface, and had evidently been thrown into the tower from time to time. The bones of the lower animals were found principally in a layer of about 18 inches thick at the lower part of the stratum. The guano was so pure that, when sifted, it sold for £5. The next stratum was about 18 inches thick, its upper portion varying from 10 to 2 inches in depth, consisting of calcined clay, containing fragments of burned human and other bones, and of charcoal in large masses and scattered fragments; the lower part of the stratum was made up of rich loam, mixed with some calcined clay, small frag-

ments of burned and unburned bones, and charcoal. Beneath this occurred a stratum of rich black earth, 1 foot 7 inches thick, containing fragments of bones, both human and belonging to the lower animals, the former predominating; with these were mixed spawls of the dolomite partially used in the construction of the tower; there were also found the tusks of a boar, of large size, and two pieces of pure copper much oxydized. Some of the bones were calcined, and one or two of the dolomite spawls showed the action of fire. When the last described deposit was cleared away, a wide layer of stones, resembling a pavement, was found extending over a considerable portion of the internal area of the tower; it ranged with the upper surface of the internal set-off, on a level with the external base-course. About two feet in breadth of this pavement remained at the east side, and a strip of it extended all round the wall. The dotted lines in the annexed diagram represent the boundary of the void or unpaved portion of the area of the tower. The pavement was covered by a coating of mortar about 1 inch in thickness. This pavement having been removed, the excavation was cautiously continued, and on the west side, close to the foundation, the skull of an adult male was exposed, and this skull was found to form a portion of a perfect human skeleton, which had been buried in the usual Christian position, with the feet to the east; no trace of coffin or cist of



No. 27.

wood or stone presenting itself. Having cleared a trench about 3 feet wide, and 1 foot 9 inches deep, across the centre of the area, and collected all the bones of this skeleton, the writer proceeded to remove carefully, with his own hands, the clay towards the north, when the crumbling remains of timber, apparently oak, presented themselves, and then the ribs and vertebræ of a child were found. The upper portion of this skeleton, which lay parallel to the adult one just described, was concealed by the western foundation of the tower, and over the *ilium* lay the skull of another child's skeleton, the extremities of which

also extended towards the east: but the most extraordinary circumstance connected with these two children's skeletons, and one that, were we not only an eye-witness, but also the actual excavators ourselves, would almost seem incredible, was the evident occurrence of a timber coffin, about an inch in thickness above, below, and, so far as followed, around the skeletons. The remains of the upper and lower planks were brought, at some points, nearly into contact by the superincumbent pressure, but where the larger bones intervened they were more widely separated. The traces of timber extended under the foundation of the tower along with the upper portion of the first-described child's skeleton, and that in such a way that it could not have been placed there after the tower was built. The timber, although quite pulpy from decay, exhibited the grain of oak; no traces of nails were found*. On proceeding with the excavation, a second adult skull, that of an aged man, was found near the foot of the child's coffin, and the skeleton to which it belonged was then traced, until further search must have undermined the eastern foundation of the tower, beneath which its lower extremities were concealed from the hips downwards. The diagram already given shows the position of the several skeletons, together with traces of the coffin already alluded to; all of which lay *beneath* the level of the foundation of the tower. Some detached human bones were found in the clay surrounding those skeletons, and on sinking still deeper in the centre, the bones of another adult skeleton presented themselves. A regard, however, to the safety of the tower precluded further examination, the earth having been already removed to a considerable depth beneath its foundations. The clay which surrounded the human remains just described was a rich, black, unctuous loam, similar to that occurring in any long-used graveyard. The skulls of the adults, and such fragments of the child's skull as

* It may seem strange that all the skeletons should not be enclosed in wooden coffins, but we have no reason to suppose that the use of coffins was general. Down to about half a century since, the families of Tracy, Doyle, and Daly, with their connexions, whose burial-place was the graveyard of the Priory of St. John, about a mile south of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, buried their dead without coffins: the

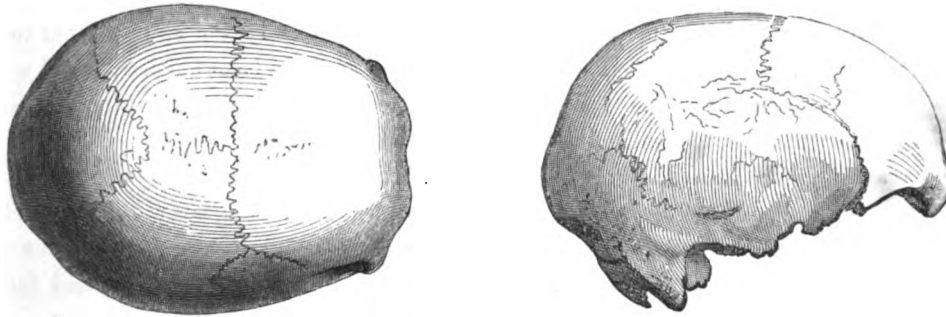
corpse being brought to the grave in a well-made coffin, and, the grave being carefully lined with fresh green sods, the body, wrapped solely in its winding-sheet, was placed therein, the head being supported by a pillow of dried grass and moss: more sods, supported by planks, were placed over it, with the grassy side down, and the grave was then filled in as usual.—See *Wexford Independent*, of May 3, 1856.

could be collected, having been reserved, the remainder of the bones were placed in a cist, formed of large stones, in the centre of the area, and then the base of the tower was filled up with small stones to the first offset, in order to guard against any sinking of its foundation; and we are happy to state that now, after a lapse of nine years, no injury to the stability of the structure has resulted from the excavations. The writer was present during the entire of the operations. The Dean of Ossory, the Rev. Samuel Madden, and Mr. John G. A. Prim, saw the children's skeletons *in situ*; and during the removal of which, two medical men, Drs. Cane and Grant^a, were present. Dr. Cane took away the skulls of the two adults, with the fragments of that belonging to the child, and he subsequently favoured Dean Vignoles with the following interesting description of these remains :—

“ *William-street, Kilkenny.*

“ *December 29, 1847.*

“ **VERY REVEREND SIR,**—I have much pleasure in furnishing you with some account of the human bones, which, with your permission, I had removed from the Round Tower of St. Canice, upon the occasion of your recent valuable research beneath its foundation. The bones which I have taken were those of two adult heads, one of them very imperfect, and some detached bones of the head of one of the children.



No. 28.

“ The adult heads [see accompanying engraving of the perfect specimen], as to conformation or physical character, presented nothing very remarkable^b. They were the heads

^a This gentleman, who subsequently left Kilkenny and went to reside in London, is now dead.

^b Since the period when the letter was written, I have submitted the heads to Dr. M'Elheran,

of ordinary men, and their frames were of ordinary stature. The adults were males, as evidenced by the *ossa ilia*, and other bones forming the hips and pelvis. One skull belonged to a very aged man, perhaps eighty years old, to judge from the extensive absorption which had taken place in the nearly edentulous jaw-bones. The other was that of a man between forty and fifty, the teeth all perfect, but remarkably worn, and the incisor or cutting teeth so completely deprived of cutting edges as to present the appearance of teeth worked constantly in the process of grinding very hard food, having flat rubbing surfaces, just like the proper molar or grinding teeth.

“ I did not see the head of the third, or lower adult skeleton, as it lay too far out under the foundation to be reached with safety. The other head was that of a child, whose age is easily fixed by the fact that some of the first set, or milk teeth, had fallen, and that the incisors of the second, or permanent set, were coming down, but had not descended to the level of the gum; the age was about seven years.

“ The adult bones were all fast crumbling to decay, but the bones of the child’s head, which had separated and were detached, as parietal, frontal, &c., presented a remarkable appearance, which I noted at the time to the Rev. Mr. Graves and Mr. Grant, who handed them to me. They were so moist and pliant as to bend under the slightest pressure, giving a sensation to the finger not unlike that of wetted pasteboard or damped biscuit, and which I then attributed to their own delicacy of texture, and the influence upon it of the rich mould beneath which they had lain for so many centuries. These bones have since dried out completely, and in doing so have lost their flexibility, and are most easily broken, exhibiting a short and brittle fracture; but that which has principally arrested my attention is the remarkable similitude which they *now* bear to burnt bones in colour, texture, and appearance: so much so that every one I have shown them to has pronounced them to be bones that were exposed to fire, and had been burned; and I would myself conclude such to be the fact, had I not assisted in removing them from the earth, and felt them while yet wet and pliant from the rich soil they lay in.

“ I am thus particular in alluding to this matter, because we so frequently hear of burned bones being found in these towers, that the fact observed here suggests a doubt, whether all these bones described as being burned, were really so,—or whether the appearance may not be the result of time and peculiar alkaline soils acting on bone young and full of animal matter, whereby the animal matter is converted into soap and escapes, moisture fills up the porous cellular texture of the bone, and so makes it soft and pliable; but when exposure to dry air drains off the moisture, the cellular structure then remains with open cells and dry brittle walls, as in burnt bone, where fire performs these offices more speedily.

whose writings on ethnology are well known. to be good specimens of *crania* of the purely
The skulls of the adults were considered by him Celtic type.—R. C.

"I cannot conclude this brief notice of the bones found beneath the Round Tower of St. Canice, without, as a reader of Petrie's elaborate book on the Round Towers, expressing my poor evidence in favour of his views,—views to which I have become a convert from the perusal of his work, having previously held a very opposite opinion. In addition to his powerful arguments, I have now witnessed these bodies taken up from beneath the level of the tower's foundation,—I have seen the foundation stones actually built over, and resting on, their graves,—that they were, all five, buried head to the west and feet to the east, as in modern and Christian church-yards. I feel no doubt that these bodies were interred previously to the building of the tower, in earth used as a cemetery or burying ground, and that they have been there *at least* eight hundred years.

"Finally, permit me, as a citizen of Kilkenny, to thank you for the zeal and labour you have displayed to preserve and improve the remains of our ecclesiastical antiquities, as well as in aiding to unravel the mystery in which the early history of our Round Towers has been involved; and I know that my feeling of obligation to you in this matter is participated in by all those of the citizens at large who value antiquarian research, and regard with veneration the remains of ancient Ireland.

"I remain, Very Reverend Sir,

"Yours truly,

"ROBERT CANE.

"*The Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory.*"

An inspection of the diagram, given at p. 115, *supra*, will show that one of the adult skeletons has the greater portion of its lower extremities concealed by the foundations of the tower, a little to the north of the east point; and it is a remarkable fact that the summit of the structure overhangs its base about two inches at this point*. This deviation from the perpendicular may seem small, but still it proves the occurrence of a considerable subsidence, when a wall originally built to a batter of 26 inches leans over its base even to the small extent of two inches. The natural inference to be drawn from these premises is, that the tower, built over a cemetery, subsided at the point of least resistance afforded by the substratum, i. e. over the spot left vacant by the natural decay of the subjacent adult human body. From what has been said, it appears that the body of at least one of the adults, together with those of the two encased children, *must* have been placed in the earth ere the foundations were laid. It

* The extent of deviation from the perpendicular has been ascertained by careful plumbing on a calm day. The projection of the parapet was not taken into account.

has, indeed, been objected that architects possessing the skill apparent in the superstructure of the tower could not have been so totally indifferent to all the principles of sound architecture, as to base so ponderous a mass on such an insecure foundation. To one reasoning *à priori* this conclusion seems inevitable^a. Facts, however, are stubborn things, and for those whose eyes beheld the position of the skeletons there is no escape from the self-evident conclusion, that the Round Tower of St. Canice, when, or by whomsoever erected, had been built on the unbroken surface of a thickly peopled burial ground, the soil of which had for ages been made fat by fresh accessions of the mortal remains of poor humanity. If we search for the motive which prevented the builders of the tower from penetrating the few feet of church-yard earth interposed between its foundations and the compact limestone gravel, it may perhaps be found in the early and general repugnance which prevailed amongst all Christians, against any disturbance or desecration of the resting-places of the dead^b. In considering this evidence in favour of the Christian origin of the Round

^a One of those *à priori* reasoners observes, with reference to this very subject;—"To us . . . it seems an exorbitant absurdity to imagine how any man could recklessly lay his materials on such a foundation as decayed coffin-boards and crumbling bones; just as well might he choose a layer of egg-shells for his basis."—Letter of a Member of the South Munster Antiquarian Society, *Kilkenny Moderator*, October 30, 1847.

^b There are in existence laws enacted by Faramund I., King of the Franks, by Charlemagne, and Charles the Bald, strictly forbidding the disturbance of the dead, some of them denouncing banishment and death for what then must have been looked on as a great crime. It should be remembered that Christianity was introduced by Irish missionaries into almost every nation in western Europe; Charlemagne especially was under the influence of the Irish ecclesiastical element. The practice, therefore, of the Continental Church at this period must be looked on as that of Ireland also. We find the following amongst many similar enactments which

occur in the "Leges Salicæ" of Faramund I., made A. D. 424, at Saltzburg in Franconia:—"Si quis corpus jam sepultum effoderit, aut ex spoliaverit, vvargus [*sic*] sit, hoc est expulsus de eodem pago."—Melchioris Goldasti *Collectio Constitutionum Imperialium*, tom. iii., p. 15. Again, the "Capitulare Karoli Magni" enjoins, A. D. 780,—"Ut nullus ossa mortuorum de sepulchris audacter ejiciat."—*Idem*, p. 124. Also, in the "Capitula Spartacana" of Charles the Bald, enacted A. D. 846, we find a very stringent injunction on the subject, which, from the allusion to the "loculus" or coffin as being then in use amongst Christians, is particularly applicable to our purpose:—"Nec quisquam ossa cujuslibet mortui de sepulchro suo ejicere [*sic*], aut sepulturam cujusquam temerario ausu quoquo modo violat, sed unumquemque in loculo sibi ideo præparato atque concesso adventum sui judicis præstolari concedat: maxime cum non solum divinæ leges, sed etiam et humanæ apud humanam rempublicam, sepulchrorum violatores reos mortis dijudicent."—*Idem*, p. 274.

Tower of St. Canice, it should also be borne in mind, as already observed, that all the skeletons, even to that of the central adult, which did not extend beyond the area of the walls, lay in the church-yard earth *below* the level of the foundation ; and that although it is possible, whilst yet improbable, that this, the central interment, was made after the tower was erected, with regard to the others such a supposition cannot for a moment be entertained.

What, then, are the conclusions forced on us by the premises ? Plainly, 1st, that the tower was erected *within* a previously used Christian burial ground, and *over* the undisturbed interments of children^a and adults. But why in a *Christian* cemetery ; may not the dead have been Pagans, and so the tower, after all, have been of fabulous antiquity ? To our mind the position of the skeletons, which all lay head to west and feet to east, is a convincing proof that the cemetery was a Christian one^b ; for although it may be granted that Pagan nations sometimes buried their dead in this position, yet it was not by any means their general method of interment, and seems to have arisen, when used, more from indifference to the position of the deceased than from anything else ; whereas with Christians this mode of burial prevailed from the earliest times, arising from the idea that our Lord was so placed in the tomb, and that it was fitting His servants should be interred in a similar manner. We have, moreover, direct proof that the Pagan Irish, on their conversion to Christianity, made a change in their mode of burial, and that this change consisted in depositing their dead with the face to the east. In proof we may cite the *Señcar na pelec*, or History of the Regal Cemeteries of Ireland, which Dr. Petrie has printed from the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, a manuscript of the twelfth century, several centuries earlier than which that learned writer places the date of the tract in question. To quote from Dr. Petrie's translation :—Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland, “ the third person who had believed, in Erin, before the arrival of St. Patrick,” is represented as having “ told his people not to bury

Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, p. 98.

^a The most enthusiastic advocate of the sepulchral or monumental character of our Round Towers will scarcely say that the Round Tower of St. Canice was built to perpetuate the memory of—*inter alios*—two infants!

^b If the custom, at present existing in Ireland,

of burying the priests with their feet to the west, prevailed in the ancient Irish Church, it would serve to show that the bodies found beneath the Round Tower of St. Canice were laics. There is no evidence, however, to prove that the practice is older than the middle of the seventeenth century.

him at Brugh (because it was a cemetery of Idolaters), for he did not worship the same God as any of those interred at Brugh; but to bury him at Ros na righ *with his face to the east.*" 2ndly, that the date of the tower cannot be even placed very early in the Christian era, inasmuch as several centuries must have elapsed, and many generations been changed to kindred dust therein, ere the soil of the cemetery could assume the character it presented beneath the foundation of the building. 3rdly, that, to account for the calcined clay and human remains found within its base, we must suppose that at some early period its timber floors, together with human beings then within its walls, were consumed by fire*. And, 4thly, that the Round Tower of St. Canice is not well adapted as a place of refuge or defence; was most probably erected as a belfry; and certainly has been used as a watch-tower.

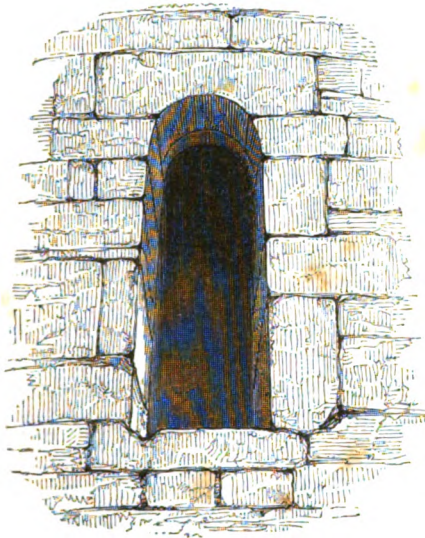
Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers, &c., p. 396.

We now come to consider the date of the structure. It is the opinion of Dr. Petrie that—"the oldest towers are obviously those constructed of spawled masonry and large hammered stones, and which present simple quadrangular and semicircular-arched doorways, with sloping jambs, and little or no orna-

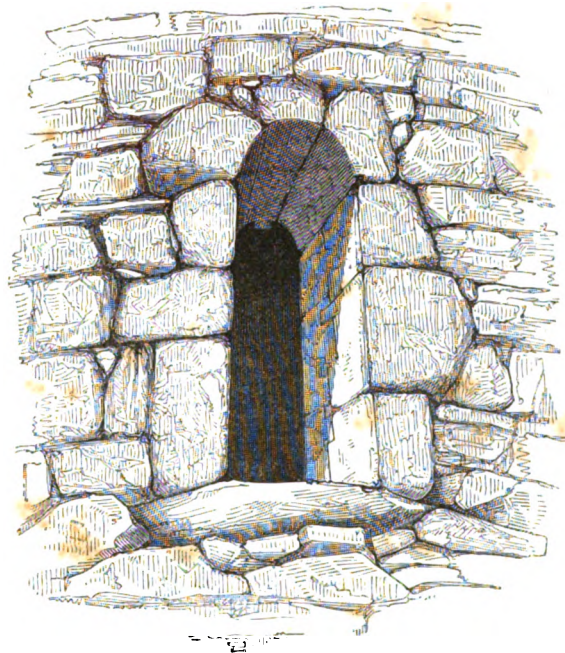
* The church of St. Canice was destroyed by fire in 1085, and again in 1114 (see pp. 24, 25, *supra*). It is not a very great straining of probability to suppose that the Round Tower shared in the conflagration at either or both dates, and it is quite possible that the clergy of the church may have been consumed within its walls. The records of similar events frequently occur in our annals: thus, the Four Masters, as quoted by Petrie, relate that in 948, "the *cloictheach* of Slane was burnt by the Danes, with its full of reliques and good people, with Caoinchair, Reader of Slane, and the crozier of the patron saint, and a bell, the best of bells." Again, A. D. 1097:—"The *cloictheach* of the Monastery, i. e. 'of Monasterboice,' with many books and treasures, was burnt." And under the year 1171, the same writers state that "the *cloictheach* of Telách Ard was burnt by Tighernan O'Ruairc, with its full of people in it." Whilst, to bring the practice of Round Tower burning closer to Kilkenny, the Annals already quoted record,

under the year 1156, that "Eochaidh O'Cuinn, the Chief Master, was burnt in the *cloictheach* of Ferta."—*Inquiry into the Origin, &c.*, pp. 369, 371. We may here remark, that the Round Tower, or *cloictheach*, of Ferta, situate about twelve miles north of Kilkenny, is split, as by fire, from top to bottom, thus affording a singular confirmation of the Annals. Will it be believed that a writer could be found so indifferent to all the rules of evidence as to assert, that "all these remains of combustion [the calcined clay and bones found in the St. Canice Tower] may, at least with equal probability, be relics of a Pagan pyre, at which, *more Scythico*, animals as well as men were cruelly sacrificed; and we have an instance of this, *quoad* the latter, in the immolation of the captives of Fiachra, after the battle of Caonry, fought in A. D. 380.—*Book of Ballymote*, fol. 166."—Letter of a Member of the South Munster Antiquarian Society, *Kilkenny Moderator*, Oct. 30, 1847. The captives may have been burned; but was the holocaust made in a Round Tower?

ment, perfectly similar to the doorways of the earliest churches." From this statement few will be found to dissent; and, on the grounds therein put forward, we must place the date of the Round Tower of St. Canice at a comparatively early epoch, its peculiarities corresponding exactly to the *criteria* above given. Its doorway resembles those of the towers of Kilmacduagh in the county of Galway, and of Glendalough in the county of Wicklow, both, *Id.*, p. 399, 400. thinks Dr. Petrie, "erected early in the seventh century." We here insert



No. 29.



No. 30.

that skilful artist's delineation of the former, as also of the door of the tower of Oughterard (No. 30), which bears a striking resemblance to that of St. Canice^a. Oughterard tower is, probably, of not much later date than a church founded there in the sixth or seventh century. The windows of our tower are, as already observed, flat-headed apertures, with inclined sides, and are almost identical

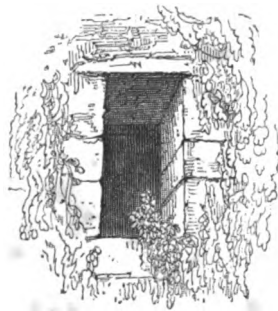
^a "The great church of Kilmacduagh was erected about the year 610, for St. Colman Mac Duach, by his kinsman, Guaire Aidhne, king of Connaught; and the perfect similarity of the masonry of the tower to that of the original portions of the great church, leaves no doubt of their being cotemporaneous structures." — *Inquiry into the Origin, &c.*, p. 400.

Id., p. 398.

with those figured by Dr. Petrie in the accompanying engravings of two of the windows of the Round Tower of Swords, Nos. 31 and 32, which is connected with a church that, owing its origin to the great St. Columbkille, was possibly erected previously to the year 563. We annex from Dr. Petrie's work, a representation of one of the windows of the Round Tower of Kells (No. 33) which also resemble those of our tower. Kells tower was in existence before the year 1076^a. Judging from these criterions, we cannot be far astray if we place the date of our Round Tower between the sixth and the ninth centuries: and it is possible that to St. Canice himself, who lived to the close of the sixth century, its erection may be assigned; none of that saint's Lives, however, make any mention of Kilkenny^b.

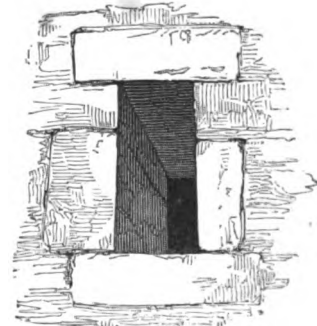


No. 31.



No. 32.

We fear that by many we shall be thought to show ourselves, in these conclusions, insensible to the poetry which clings round our pillar towers as naturally as the mosses and the many-hued lichens incrust their time-stained walls. Fain would we, too, like many of our antiquarian brethren, who are staunch supporters of the Pagan theories, trace their origin from the distant plains of Asia or Hindustan, or be-



No. 33.

^a In this year Murchad, grandson of Flann O'Maelsechlainn, king of Meath, "being 3 nights in the steeple of Kells, was killed by Maolan's sonne, king of Galleng."—Old transla-

tion of the Annals of Ulster, quoted by Dr. Petrie, *Inquiry*, &c., p. 369.

^b "The first notice [in the Irish annals] which occurs of the *cloictheach*, or Round Tower,

lieve them to have formed the shrines of the primeval worshippers of fire, or to have had reference to the rites of Buddhist idolatry. But we cannot obey the prompting of that portion of our common nature which revels in the mystery of the past: the stern rules of evidence coerce us; and we are forced to assign to our own Round Tower a purpose familiar to us all, and a date which must fix its place far down the stream of ascertained history. Yet, we trust, few will be found to hold that a monument of our primitive Irish Christianity, as peculiar to our country as was the anomalous nature of its ancient episcopacy, affords less to interest our feelings than any monument of Paganism, no matter how ancient? An antiquity of ten or twelve centuries surely gives scope enough to the "faculty divine" of poetry,—evidenced, we think, in the subjoined sonnets to the Round Tower of St. Canice, from the pen of one, now no more*, who loved well his native city, and its antiquities. The absence of all written record as to when and by

is that at the year 950, relative to the burning of the *cloitheach* or Round Tower of Slane, as already given at p. 370; and the earliest authentic record of the erection of a Round Tower is no earlier than the year 965. This record is found in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and relates to the tower of Tomgraney in the county of Clare,—a tower which does not now exist, but of which, according to the tradition of the old natives of the place, some remains existed about forty years since. The passage is as follows:—

“ ‘ A. D. 965. Cormac h-Ua Cillín, do uib b-ḟiaḟraḟ Aibne, comorba Ciaraín ḡ Comaín ḡ comorba Tuama Ḣrene; ḡ ar aige do ronab tempul mor Tuama Ḣrene, ḡ a claiḡcead. Sapienḡ ḡ penex et episcopus.—*queuit in Chriḡco.*’

“ Thus translated by Colgan, who seems to have found it in his copy of the Annals of the Four Masters, though that part of it relating to the erection of the church and tower is not given in the Stowe copy of those Annals, as published by Dr. O'Connor, or in the MS. copies of them preserved in Dublin:—

“ ‘ A. D. 964. Cormacus Hua Killene, Comorbanus SS. Kierani, Coemani, [Comani] et Cronani, Episcopus, sapiens, vir valdè longæuus, qui extruxit Ecclesiam de Vuaim-grene [Tuam-grene] cum sua turri, decessit.’—*Acta SS.*, p. 360, b.

“ But, though the Irish annalists preserve to us no earlier notices of the Round Towers, than these now adduced, the many references which occur to those buildings, as existing in the tenth and eleventh centuries, sufficiently prove that they were common in the country at an earlier period.”—*Inquiry into the Origin, &c.*, p. 375.

The general absence of distinct notices of buildings in the ancient lives of the Irish saints, and the extreme meagreness of the Irish Annals anterior to the tenth century, easily account for the absence of earlier notices of the Round Towers.

* The late Rev. James Leckey, incumbent of Willenhall, diocese of Chester, whose untimely death prevented the publication of his poems. We trust they may yet see the light.

whom the Round Tower of St. Canice was raised gives ample room to the imagination of the writer, and warrants the idea of the second sonnet:—

I.

“ O mystic Tower, I never gaze on thee—
 Altho' since childhood's scarce remember'd spring
 Thou wert to me a most familiar thing—
 Without an awe, and not from wonder free;
 Wild fancies, too, oft urge themselves on me,
 Working as though they had the power to fling
 The veil aside, year after year doth bring
 More closely round thee, thing of mystery!
 Yea, thou dost wake within me such a sense
 As few things earthly can,—thy airy brow
 Hath felt the breeze for centuries immense;
 Who knows what hand hath raisèd thee, or how?
 And Time so much of his own reverence
 Hath lent to thee, we venerate thee now.”

II.

“ O structure strange, and column-like, and high!
 What thought had he who first contriv'd thy plan,
 Thou seeming most unfit for use of man?
 Thy lofty brow is lifted towards the sky,
 And all things human that around thee lie,
 Thou, lonely watcher here ere they began,
 Saw'st as they rose around thee. Thou the van
 Of Time didst hold, and none with thee can vie;
 For sacred fane and lordly castle hall,
 O time-worn Tower! was it thine to see,
 And city homes, and long-encircling wall,
 Rise one by one, and range themselves round thee,—
 Of some hast thou beheld the rise and fall,
 But nothing human knows *thy* history.”

J. G.

SECTION II.
MONUMENTAL ANTIQUITIES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—CLASSIFICATION OF THE MONUMENTS.

THAT the cathedral of St. Canice was, in former days, rich in the sepulchral monuments of men eminent in their age and country, we know on the already quoted testimony of Bishop Roth, who was familiar with its features ere the troops of the Commonwealth, by Cromwell's order, stormed the cathedral; when, See p. 70, *supra*.

“The Civil fury of the time
Made sport of sacrilegious crime ;
For dark Fanaticism rent
Altar, and screen, and ornament,
And peasant hands the tombs o'erthrew.”

But even did we lack direct evidence, the remains which have come down to our day are of themselves sufficient to prove the truth of Roth's statement. There are, doubtless, elsewhere to be found many far more ancient examples of monumental art; the megalithic cross and curiously carved tombstone of early Celtic Christianity are not here to be found by the side of their contemporary Round Tower; but we question if there is another church in Ireland which can compare with this cathedral in the number, variety, and interesting nature of its *existing* mediæval monuments. Perhaps this may, in part, be attributable to the immunity from fire which the building has enjoyed.

Although the Cathedral of St. Canice never suffered actual assault except from the “fanatick limbs of the beast,” as Griffith Williams terms the defacers of his church, yet it seems, in common with many another structure primarily devoted to religion, to have been always accounted a “strong place,” and garrisoned accordingly. Thus, the *Red Book* of the Corporation of Kilkenny states, that, in anno 1599, when Tyrone was up in arms, and rebellion had spread far and wide over Ireland, it was ordered by the civic authorities, “for S^t Kenny’s Church, the L^d Bishop and the Irishtowne to take order for the defence thereof, as heretofore they were appointed:” and again, the same year, “that the Steeple of S^t Patrick’s Church shall be warded with six warders, and sufficient victuals provided for them; and that S^t Kenny’s Church shall be also warded with a strong ward of the Inhabitants of the Irishtowne, and such soldiers as shall be sent unto them for that purpose.” Since the previous sheets of this work passed through the press, a record of the “Proceedings of Cromwell’s Army in Ireland” has been printed, rendering certain what is there sought to be proved, at p. 42, *supra*, viz., that the cathedral had suffered storm. Dr. Jones, Bishop of Cloyne, who was present at the siege of Kilkenny, thus records the fact of the storming of the cathedral in his Private Notes:—“25th [March, 1650], our battery, of two demi-cannon and one culverin, played from Patrick’s church on the town-wall near the castle. Kenny’s church being observed a place commanding the town in some parts, a party was sent to storm and possess it, our men in the meantime diverting the town-garrison by essaying the breach at the battery. The church we possessed, but were repulsed at the breach with the loss of ten men.” It is surprising that the injury inflicted on the church and its monuments, by the storming and military occupation of the place, was not much more extensive than it has proved to be.

MS. F. iv. 16,
Trinity College,
Dublin.—See
Gentleman’s
Magazine, vol.
xiv. p. 373.

It is not, happily, necessary to enter into any lengthened argument to show that the study of monumental remains is of the highest importance to the elucidation of history; but what the Rev. Charles Boutell has so well said of one interesting class of monument, numerous in England, but here almost entirely wanting,—although our cathedral is not without traces that monumental brasses once ornamented its aisles,—may well be quoted. After observing that such records afford a “vivid representation of the long dead denizens of ages past,” and “bring before us in all points as they were in life, the prince, the noble,

the lady, the knight, the citizen, and the ecclesiastic," thus enabling us "to reinvest the personages, whose names make history famous, with form and fashion true to the very life," he proceeds:—

"But, much more than has already been suggested, may be learned from these memorials. To the genealogist they afford authentic cotemporary evidences: to the herald they furnish examples of the original usage in bearing arms, and authorities in the appropriation and adjustment of badges and personal devices: the architect here will find, in rich variety, the details and accessories illustrative, as well of peculiar modes of arrangement and combination, as of the distinctive characteristics of style and design: the chronologist hence may deduce authentic data to determine, with truly remarkable exactness, successive eras and epochs: to the general antiquary, from the same source, widely diversified information will accrue: the palæographer also is hence enabled to fix the distinctive form of letter used at certain periods, together with the prevalent peculiarities of contraction and abbreviation [of words]. Of the important judicial testimony deducible from brasses, the decision upon the Camoys peerage affords a remarkable and memorable example. And, beyond all, the deep tone of combined piety and humility which characterizes so forcibly these memorials of the departed,—as well the attitude of the figure, as the legend on the scroll, contrasting strikingly with the inconsistent designs, and the vain, and too often flippant encomiums, so prevalent in monumental structures of more modern date,—‘these *must* be our admiration, and *ought* to be our pattern,’—thus, of a truth, do our ancestors being dead, yet speak with powerful though silent eloquence."

*Monumental
Brasses and
Slabs, pp. 3, 4.*

It is needless to add any observation of our own to this eloquent and convincing passage.

It has been already said that traces of brasses remain in the cathedral of St. Canice^a. These consist of some slabs exhibiting the matrixes of quatrefoiled

^a The only existing Irish brasses are to be found in Dublin: but we are not to suppose that their use, although not here so generally adopted as in England, was confined to the metropolis. Along with the indications of their occurrence in the cathedral of St. Canice, we have remaining the matrix of the effigial brass of Bishop Saunders (ob. 1549) in the cathedral of Old Leighlin. Thomas Dineley, who travelled in Ireland in the reign of Charles II., gives a pen-and-ink sketch of the matrix of a fine canopied brass which was then preserved in the cathedral of Cashel, commemorating Archbishop Hamilton; he also men-

tions several in Dublin, now lost.—(MS. Tour, *penes* Sir T. E. Winnington, Stanford Court, Worcestershire.) Waterford cathedral was, at one time, rich in brasses. It was sworn before a Commission, appointed after the Restoration by the Irish House of Lords, to inquire into the plunder abstracted by the Cromwellian party from the cathedral of Waterford, that numerous "brasses, eschocheons, and atchements," were ruthlessly torn by them from "the ancient tombes, many of which were almost covered with brasse."—*Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. ii., p. 78.

ornaments, and of a small square plate, at present forming a portion of the pavement of the north chapel. Nothing, however, remains to indicate the age of the monuments, or the persons whom they commemorated. It is not at all unlikely that other vestiges of this style of monumental art exist, the slabs being reversed, as was often the case, and serving as more modern tombs, or even as plain pavement flags; such remains not being likely to have attracted the attention of O'Phelan, who was employed by Bishop Pococke to re-arrange the monuments. With the exception of the fragments alluded to, the existing monuments are exclusively of stone,—the compact limestone, or black marble, of the district, being the material used. It is probable that Bishop Williams, when putting his cathedral into such order as he could, stored up the monumental remains, which he found broken and defaced, in the north chapel; at all events, Harris, when he visited the cathedral in Bishop Este's time, found them there "lying loose against the wall," and suggested that they ought to be "refixed and preserved." Harris's suggestion was not, however, carried out until Bishop Pococke had repaired the cathedral. That prelate, as we are informed by Shee, employed John O'Phelan to copy all the inscriptions then remaining in the cathedral, and had the monuments re-erected, most probably under O'Phelan's inspection. The Monumentarium then compiled was done in duplicate, O'Phelan retaining one copy, whilst the other passed into the hands of Pococke, and was probably the text from which Ledwich printed the "Monuments and Inscriptions in the Cathedral." O'Phelan's private copy became the property of Dr. Shee, of Irishtown, Kilkenny, and was the text of his "Epitaphs on the Tombs in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice," the plates of which were drawn by a self-taught Kilkenny artist, named Coffey, and etched by William Martin, a private soldier, belonging to a regiment then quartered in Kilkenny. Neither the text of Ledwich nor of Shee afford correct renderings of O'Phelan's MS., which is, in the main, faithful to the originals, and can be charged with very few errors or omissions. Dr. Shee used the original manuscript as "copy" for his printers*, but they were either unable to decipher it, or Shee did not take care to compare the proofs

Harris's *Ware*,
vol. i., p. 434.

Shee's *St. Canice*,
Advertisement.

Antiq., 2nd ed.,
pp. 392-409.

* This is proved by the state of the MS., the greater portion of which, with Shee's additions, and directions to the printer, is at present in possession of the Rev. James Graves. Shee's book was printed in Dublin by Graisberry and Campbell, in 1813.

with the manuscript before sending it for press, as many serious errors have crept in, especially with regard to the dates.

O'Phelan, in compiling his Monumentarium of the cathedral, grouped the inscriptions together according as they occurred in the different portions of the church, an arrangement which would naturally be adopted by the person who superintended their re-erection. There could be little objection to O'Phelan's plan, if the placing of the monuments was satisfactory, or one that precluded future change in their position; but as his arrangement is far from what could be desired, and, in consequence, has since rendered several changes necessary, and a total re-arrangement desirable, it has been deemed better to abandon *situation*, and adopt *date* as the groundwork of the classification used in this work. It is true that it has been found impossible to ascertain the precise year to which some of the monuments should be assigned, but this objection has been, at least partially, avoided in the following pages, by adopting centenary divisions.

The monuments range, in point of date, from the thirteenth century^a to the present day; and it may be convenient in this place to indicate the characteristics of each period, in order that the sequence of the Monumentarium may not be interrupted by adverting to it hereafter.

Of the monuments of the thirteenth century few have survived, and nearly all have suffered much from time and violence. We know not how many other effigial tombs there may have been in the cathedral besides those erected to the memory of three^b of the prelates who filled this see during the century: of these but one has been preserved to our day. In Ware's time Bishop Mapilton's tomb was in existence; but although he mentions Bishop St. Leger's, he does not, as in the former case, speak of having seen it^c. An outline of the

^a That there were monuments of an earlier date connected with the original parish church of St. Canice we cannot doubt; but all traces of their existence have perished.

^b The peculiarity subsequently noted as characterizing the only existing effigy of a bishop, shows it to have belonged neither to Mapilton nor St. Leger. It must have stood in a niche formed in a north wall, a position not possible

in the south transept. Perhaps it represents Roger, of Wexford, who died in 1289, and, according to Ware, "in ecclesia sua dicitur humatus."—*Hibernia Sacra*, p. 143.

^c "In ecclesia sua sepultus est, prope capellam beatæ Mariæ, ubi tumulum videmus statuâ operis exquisiti ornatum." Of St. Leger's tomb Ware merely observes—"tumulo conditus est prope Mapiltonum, statuâ ejus affabrè ornato" (*Hiber-*

only existing effigial tomb of this century is here given, and it will be seen that the bold and effective style of the sculpture, the early form of the mitre and



No. 34.

chasuble, and the foliage on the pastoral staff and bracket which supports the feet—all lead us to assign the sculpture to the period at present under consideration. It represents the prelate arrayed in full episcopal robes from the mitre to the sandals, gloves, and ring^a: the right hand, much mutilated, is raised in the act of blessing; the left holds a simple, but elegant, pastoral staff. There is an individuality about the features that would lead one to conceive the face to be a portrait: the brow is broad and massive, and expression stern, but good. This effigy must have been intended originally to be placed in a mural niche formed in a north wall, the sculptor having designed, and finished with care, only such parts as can be seen from the right or south side of the figure^b. It

nia Sacra, p. 142); the Clarendon MS., Add. No. 4789, adds, "in altero tumulo lapideo alto ante capellam beatæ Mariæ," which fixes the original site of the *two* monuments in the south transept. The niche described at p. 93, *supra*, may have contained either of the effigies.

^a To begin at the feet, which are encased in sandals of an old form, we have first the "alb," with the tasselled end of the girdle appearing beneath it. The alb has no embroidery or "apparels" either at the bottom or sleeves. Over the alb appear the two ends of the "stole:" over this the "tunic" or "rochet," and above it the "dalmatic." Above all appears the "cha-

suble," a vestment of nearly circular form, with an aperture in the middle for the head: in later times it was slit up at the sides, but here its folds rest on the arms. From the left hand depends the "maniple," a narrow strip like the stole; both hands are covered with the "gloves," and over the glove, on the middle finger of the right hand, is worn the "ring." On the head is the "mitre," and in the left hand is the "pastoral staff," its crook turned *outwards*, as was customary with bishops. The staff is encircled by the scarf or "vexillum."—See Boutell's *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, pp. 96–101.

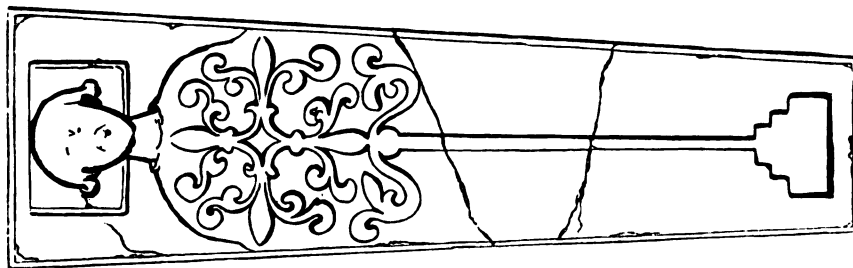
^b Perhaps its original place was the beautiful

is at present placed altar-wise near one of the windows of the north side aisle, and, therefore, seen to disadvantage. The cathedral does not contain any other figure of this period; but there is remaining a curious palimpsest monument, which may have borne an effigy, now chiselled away to make room for sculptures and an inscription of the sixteenth century*. The edges of this slab (which is of large size, measuring 3 feet by 8) bear Early English moldings, and the angles are ornamented by bold and well-carved foliage of the same period. Of the class which may be described as incised slabs, the fragments, here represented, may be referred to the century



No. 35.

under consideration: one shows the upper portion of the figure of a female, wearing the wimple, a neck-covering peculiar to the period; the other, the feet, whether of this figure or another it is difficult to say: in both the figure is indicated by deeply cut lines. There are several coffin-shaped^b slabs in the



No. 36.

cathedral, bearing crosses with foliated terminations cut in relief, of which those having inscriptions will be noticed in the next chapter. One here figured

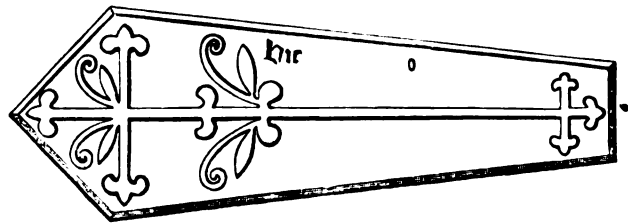
Early English niche still existing in the north transept.

* At present this stone commemorates the Cottrell and Lawless families. There seems

every reason to suppose that it was originally placed to the memory of some person, or persons, of the former name.

^b This term is used, in this and the subse-

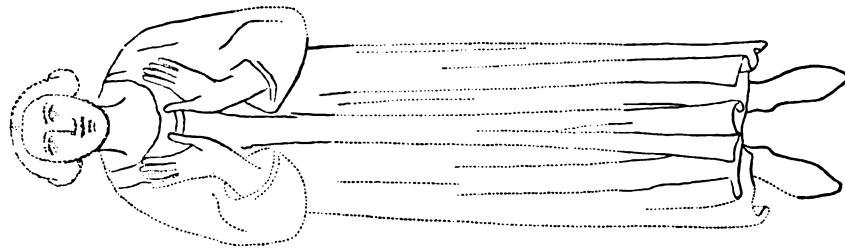
affords a connecting link between the effigial and cross slabs, the figure being indicated beneath the cross with the head alone fully sculptured. We also give an engraving of a cross-slab of peculiar form belonging to this period, from



No. 37.

which an inscription of later date than the cross has been almost entirely effaced. Besides those now mentioned, there are two uninscribed cross-slabs in relief, one in a very imperfect condition. The lettering used on monuments in this century was what has been termed the Lombardic capital.

The monuments of the fourteenth century remaining in the cathedral are confined to simple incised slabs, either with or without foliated crosses, unless we include some fragments bearing portions of the human figure marked by



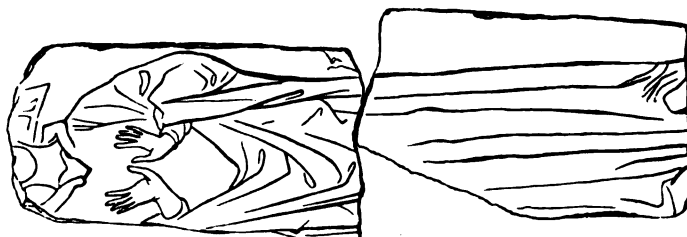
No. 38.

incised lines, which may belong to the early part of this century, their imperfect state rendering it impossible to assign the date with certainty. Our artist has combined four fragmentary portions together, so as to form two figures (Nos. 38 and 39), a male and female; the conjectural portions being indicated by dotted lines. The crosses in fashion at this period are of the same form as

quent pages of this work, to denote that form of monumental slab which narrows towards the foot. These slabs frequently served as the lids

of stone coffins; but were often simple memorial stones laid in the floor of the church over the grave of the defunct.

those of the previous century, but they are universally *incised* (we speak of those occurring in this cathedral alone), instead of being carved in relief. Their



No. 89.

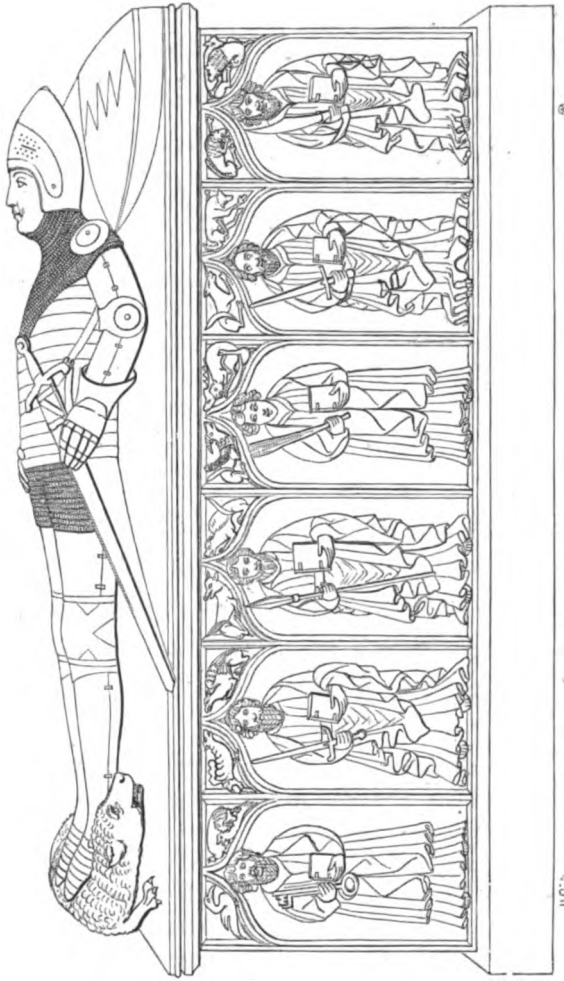
general form is indicated by the engraving of the cross to be found on the tomb of John Talbot, given at a subsequent page. The lettering used in the inscriptions was the Lombardic capital, and frequently the black letter.

Of the fifteenth century there are very scanty remains in the cathedral of St. Canice,—indeed to this period but one tomb, that of Richard Talbot, can positively be assigned. The fifteenth century, so prolific in monumental sculpture elsewhere, has left in Ireland few examples of that art. It was there a time of war and turbulence. Many of the Anglo-Norman feudal lords led their retainers out of Ireland, to perish with themselves in the Wars of the Roses; and the Irish, taking advantage of their absence, made a general, though uncombined, effort to recover their ancient patrimonies, and in many districts succeeded in driving out their conquerors, narrowing the English rule to the district subsequently termed the Pale. Many religious houses were, it is true, erected in this century, but noble, knight, and citizen, remain for the most part unchronicled in stone.

The sixteenth century, on the contrary, is rich in monumental art: persons of all classes seem to have availed themselves freely of the chisel of the sculptor to perpetuate their memory; and our cathedral abounds in the effigial and crucially ornamented tombs of this period. The sixteenth century effigies were all designed to be placed on altar-tombs, the sides being supported by slabs, carved into canopied niches filled with figures of the Apostles, or else bearing what have been called the arms of the Crucifixion, i. e., the cross, the crown of thorns, scourges, hammer, nails, pincers, spear, ladder, cup placed on the end of a staff, reed that bore the sponge, pillar and thongs, palm branch, seamless

coat, dice, thirty pieces of silver ; also, sometimes, the sword used by Peter, the ear cut off the servant of the high priest, the cock, and the heart of the Blessed Virgin pierced by swords, &c. At the west end, or head of the tomb, a panel carved with the Crucifixion and the two Marys is generally found, and at the foot a shield with the arms of the deceased ; shields of arms are also sometimes introduced, in place of other ornaments, into the spandrels of the canopied niches. A characteristic example of this class of monument is given on the accompanying plate, being the effigial altar-tomb supposed to have been intended to perpetuate the memory of James, eighth Earl of Ormonde, but which remained uninscribed after his death. It is drawn to a scale of somewhat less than 2 inches to 3 feet, and is a favourable specimen of this class of monument, of which other examples will be noticed in the subsequent pages of this work. The grotesque figures of animals carved in the spandrels of the niches which ornament the side of the tomb are worthy of notice*. The history of defensive armour and military weapons in Ireland is a subject on which little has been accurately written, and which receives much interesting illustration from the effigial tombs in the cathedral of St. Canice. There can be little doubt that the Anglo-Normans introduced into this island the arms and armour then in use in England and France ; the suit of mail, or hauberk, which covered the body *cap-a-pié*, being its distinctive feature. In England and on the Continent chain mail gradually gave place to plate armour ; the former almost entirely disappearing about 1450. In Ireland, however, our sculptured memorials (and we possess scarcely any other record) give no reason to suppose that the fashions either of dress or armour progressed *pari passu* with those of the sister island. Remoteness of situation, difficulty of communication, and comparative want of means, no doubt, retarded the progress of change, so much so that the Irish sculptured effigies of the first half of the sixteenth century represent the fashions which prevailed in England in the reign of Richard II., and even earlier. The truth of this observation will be apparent when the reader has perused the description of the effigial tombs in the next chapter, and compared them, and their accompanying illustrations, with any good work on English monumental sculpture. In the effigial tombs of this period

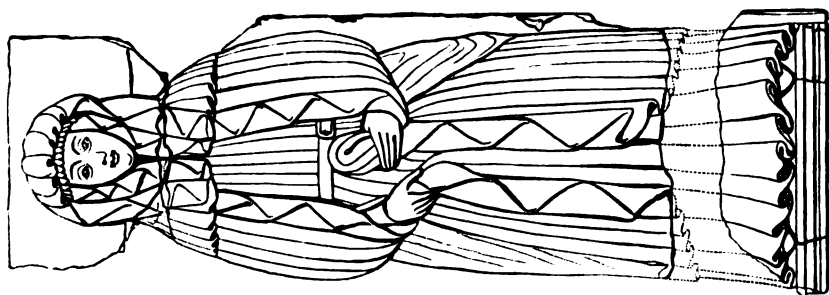
* The recurrence, during the Perpendicular period of Gothic architecture, to the shallow moldings, surface ornamentation, and grotesque forms of the Romanesque, is very remarkable.



Supposed Monument of **JAMES**, Ninth Earl of Ormonde.

Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co.

the effigy of the wife is frequently found by the side of that of her lord, both being represented in that recumbent attitude so peculiarly indicative of repose, often with the hands joined in prayer: Piers, Earl of Ormonde, and his Countess, Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, will be found thus represented at a subsequent page. Besides the effigy of this noble lady, the cathedral contains a nameless, but highly interesting, representation of a female belonging to a more humble rank of life. This effigy, here engraved to a scale of somewhat less



No. 40.

than 2 inches to 3 feet, is robed in an ample supertunic, confined round the waist by a plain girdle and buckle, and reaching to the feet. The hair is not apparent, a coverchef, neatly plaited or crimped, coming down low over the forehead, and descending in regular folds to the breast. Over all is gracefully arranged the hooded mantle*, which is gathered up and held, with considerable

* Some twenty-five years ago this mantle was still in general use in the county of Kilkenny. The material was generally blue cloth, and (when the means of the wearer could afford it) of the finest description. Its ample breadth was plaited into a small falling collar at the neck, and beneath the latter was attached a large hood gathered in front by a ribbon; the hood hung down on the back, or was worn over the head, at pleasure. Married women wore a cap beneath this hood, but unmarried females used no other covering for the head, when the hood was thrown back. Bonnets, and shawls or capes, have now nearly supplanted this graceful, com-

fortable, and characteristic national garment, for so it may be called, as its shape was universal, although the colour and material varied in different counties, red cloth being used in portions of the west of Ireland, and gray frieze in the Queen's County, Carlow, and other districts. The dress represented on this effigial tomb evidently represents the ancient form of the kirtle, or supertunic, and mantle, alluded to in the following by-law, extracted from the *Red Book* of the Corporation of Kilkenny, fol. 290:—

“ 8th May, 1612.—No maid servant to have any coat or kyrtell with plates or labil sleeves, after the Irish fashion, on fine of 12d.; 8d. paid to the

grace, in the hands. It is probable that the sculptors of all these monuments were natives: at all events that of Grace, Baron of Courtstown, bears the name of its maker, as follows:—*Roricus O'Fluane fabricauit istam tubam**. The greater proportion of monuments belonging to this century are ornamented with interlaced crosses, which, with the inscriptions, are carved in relief; sometimes the emblems of the Passion are present, or else the sun and moon, representing Christ and his Church. The inscription is generally carved in black letter. Examples of the crosses will be found engraved in the next chapter. There is one uninscribed cross slab of this century in the cathedral.

Although the seventeenth century is not without its crucially ornamented slabs, of the same character as those in use in the previous period, yet its distinctive feature is the prevalence of mural monuments designed in the Renaissance or Jacobean style. The emblems of the trade of the deceased are sculptured on some of the monumental slabs of this century; the examples will be found engraved in the following chapter. The most elaborate and magnificent monument of the period which the cathedral contained was that executed by Stone, a London sculptor, to the memory of Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormonde, which is now totally destroyed. This tomb, we are told, was ornamented with the effigy of that nobleman, and was rich in painting and gilding; there are still some traces of the latter species of decoration on the mural monuments of the Murphy, Blanchfield, and Shee, families.

It is impossible not to be struck with the gradual debasement of monumental art, as exemplified in the remains of this century, and the retrogression continued until, in the eighteenth, and the first half of the nineteenth, centuries,

Corporation, and 4*d.* to the Mayor; the master or mistress giving such coat to forfeit 6*s.* 8*d.*, to be divided as aforesaid. No woman servant to have more than eight yards at most for the biggest woman. No woman servant to have *any* cloak dyed with Spanish woad, but black tawney, or sheep's colour."

The Corporation of the Irishtown of Kilkenny, on the 12th of August, 1603, passed a by-law against excess in feasting at christening children, whereby it was enacted, that the

officers appointed for that purpose "shall take the cloaks, mantles, rolls or kerchefs" of all women frequenting christening feasts.—*First Book of the Corporation of Irishtown*. The "mantle," and "roll or kerchef," are both represented on the tomb.

* The effigial tomb of Donald Archdekin, *alias* Cody, and his wife, a member of the Blanchville family, in the churchyard of Dungarvan, county of Kilkenny, also bears the name of its sculptor:—*Par [sic] me Water Kerren mason. 1581.*

we reach the lowest point to which it was possible for it to descend. Pagan emblems, such as the inverted torch and cinerary urn, usurped the place of the insignia of Christianity, and inflated encomiums on the deceased superseded the simple ~~fact~~ fact of our fathers. Happily, however, a revival has taken place in our day, and in a monument to the memory of one of Ireland's worthiest sons, the late John, Marquis of Ormonde, soon to be erected in the cathedral, we may hope for the inauguration of a better era.

Having closed the chapter on the architecture of the cathedral by some observations on the best mode of restoring that venerable fabric to its pristine beauty, it may be allowed to introduce here a few brief remarks on the necessity of a fitting and durable re-arrangement of the ancient monuments contained within its walls.

In considering the re-arrangement^a of the tombs, they naturally fall into the two classes of altar-tombs and slabs,—the latter often ornamented by a cross. The greatest error which had been committed by O'Phelan was the separation of the effigies of Piers, eighth Earl of Ormonde, and his lady, Margaret Fitzgerald, thus disuniting the effigies, when the original design, as evidenced by the inscription carried continuously round the edge of both slabs, never contemplated their separation, both being intended to rest on one altar-tomb. It is needless, however, to dwell further on this mistake, as it has been obviated by the change made by the late Marquis of Ormonde, who, a short period before his own death, collected the monuments of his family into the south transept, re-united the "Red Earl" and his countess, and at the same time restored to the effigial tomb of Richard, Viscount Mountgarret, a side-supporting slab, with the arms of that nobleman carved on it, which had been previously appropriated to the monument of the Earl of Ormonde. Little more remains to be effected to render the effigial tombs a credit to the cathedral, if we except the very desirable removal of the effigy of the bishop from its present position to the vacant mural niche in the north transept, for which it seems to have been originally designed. The case is, however, far different with regard to the second class of monuments already alluded to,—the many slabs which lie prostrate on the floor, and which are sculptured

^a This subject has already been brought forward by one of the authors, in a paper read before the Kilkenny Archæological Society. See *Trans. of the Kilk. Arch. Society*, vol. i., p. 218.

with the richest variety of interlaced and floriated crosses to be found, perhaps, in the kingdom. We can aver, to our own knowledge, that several of the inscriptions and ornaments on these slabs, perfectly legible and discernible when first we knew them, are now quite obliterated. This work of defacement gradually and surely progresses, being the inevitable consequence of the appropriation of the monuments as common flooring flags. The losses of history, Gibbon has remarked, are, indeed, irretrievable. When the productions of fancy or science have been swept away, new poets may invent, and new philosophers may reason ; but if the inscription of a single fact be once obliterated, it can never be restored by the united efforts of genius and industry. The consideration of our past losses should incite the present age to cherish and perpetuate the valuable relics which have escaped. The words of the historian of the Roman Empire are strikingly applicable to the monuments which are gradually becoming obliterated, in place of being preserved, in the cathedral of Ossory,—the foot of every thoughtless visitor who saunters through its aisles, understanding little of what he sees, and, perhaps, caring less, and the busy thronging of the Sunday congregations, rapidly effacing from them every record of the past. This sad result might easily, and without much expense, be prevented by the removal of all tomb slabs from the thoroughfares between the principal doors and the choir, and their arrangement in places where it is unnecessary for the foot of the passenger or worshipper to tread. They should be grouped together in centuries, and, in most instances, raised a few inches above the floor, in order to show the chamfer or molding round the edge, and give an intelligible hint that they should not be regarded as common flooring flags.

When one considers the number, beauty, and value of those remains, forming in themselves almost a complete museum for the study of Anglo-Irish sepulchral antiquities, we cannot but suppose that most persons will agree with us that, to make a perfect arrangement and classification of them, to take efficient measures for their future careful preservation, might be called a national work. In any movement for such a purpose the Dean and Chapter might safely reckon on the support and sympathy of the public at large. To complete the congruous arrangement of the effigial tombs would be attended with very small expense indeed: to take up and classify the slabs, at present trodden upon by

every passing foot, would be easy of accomplishment. We have taken the trouble to ascertain from a professional builder the expense of the re-arrangement of the monuments, and learn that it would not exceed £20 ; and we have no doubt but that this sum would quickly be subscribed. In a wide sense, these monuments are national property, intimately connected with the country's history. In a more circumscribed point of view they are of value to Kilkenny men, being endeared to them by early associations, by a natural reverence for the remains of the olden time, and, in some instances, by the memory of the pleasure conferred by the study of that art and history on which they are calculated to shed not a little light.—J. G.

CHAPTER II.

INSCRIBED MONUMENTS.

TOMBS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.—There are but five tombs of this period which bear inscriptions. All of them are more or less injured, and but one remains in a tolerably good state of preservation:—

[1.] † hīc : iacet : līvs : henrici : de : ponto : de : lyra :
 q̄i : obiit : in : die : decollacōis : bī : ioh̄is : baptiste : anno :
 dñi : m̄ : d̄c : lxxxv . .

TRANSLATION:—† Here lieth son of Henry de Ponto de Lyra (*or* of Lyra) who died on the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, A.D. M.CC.LXXXV . .

This, if not the most ancient monument in the cathedral, is, at least, the most ancient bearing a date*. The injuries to which it has been subjected may be judged of from the circumstance that it has been broken into two parts, which are to be found widely separated. The portion on which the beginning and end of the inscription have been cut now forms a flooring flag in the north transept, near the entrance arch of the parish church; whilst the other half, with the remaining part of the inscription, lies under the gallery stairs in the north side chapel. The inscription runs round the edge of the slab, and the only central ornament was a heater-shaped shield in relief, charged with armorial bearings; but this has been nearly chiselled away, it would seem, with the view of allowing a door to open freely. A portion of the shield remains, on which appear to be sculptured two quatrefoils; but these formed only a small part of its original heraldic charge.

* This tomb escaped the observation of O'Phelan, and, consequently, has not been noticed by Ledwich or Shee: the inscription is now for the first time printed.

The sculptor apparently made a mistake in cutting upon the stone the word Ponto for Ponte. The name of De Ponte occurs in the Irish Records at a very early period. John de Ponte seems to have filled some important legal office in this country at the period to which the monument belongs; and we even find him discharging official duties in connexion with the City of Kilkenny. In the year 1302 he was nominated by the king to hold an investigation into the circumstances attending the discovery of treasure in Kilkenny. William Utlawe, or Outlawe, a merchant of that town, made a complaint to the crown that William Kyteler*, sheriff of the Liberty of Kilkenny, by the direction of Fulk de la Freyne, seneschal of the Liberty, had forcibly entered his house by night with an armed retinue, and, having dug therein, discovered and carried away a sum of £3000, which he had there hidden underground for Adam le Blund, of Callan, and Alice his wife, in trust for whom he had received it; whilst at the same time the said sheriff had found and appropriated £100 of Utlawe's own money, the restoration of all of which he applied for. The instructions to De Ponte were, that he should search out the truth of the allegations, and see that the moneys were, in the meantime, deposited in a safe place, under his own seal and that of the seneschal of the Liberty, until it should be determined to whom they of right belonged,—the king being inclined to think that, coming under the denomination of "treasure found," they ought to be adjudged the property of the crown. The result of these curious proceedings is not recorded. The words on the monument, "de Lyra," may be a part of the surname of the person for whom it was erected; but, perhaps, it may be suggested as more probable that they indicate that personage to have been the proprietor of the manor of Lyrath, near Kilkenny, subsequently the property of the Tobin family, and now the estate of Sir Charles Cuffe, Bart. It is scarcely necessary to point out that "ra" is the common pronunciation of the Irish word "rath" applied to an earth-fortified dwelling-place.

*Rot. Pat., 31
Ed. I., m. 3.*

* Utlawe being the son of the celebrated reputed Kilkenny witch, Dame Alice Kyteler, this William was, no doubt, a connexion of his. Adam Le Blund was the second husband of Dame Alice; and both Utlawe and he appear, from various entries on Close and Patent Rolls of Chancery, to have been frequently engaged in

monetary transactions, in fact, to have acted on an extensive scale as bankers, lending large sums of money to the crown and to the nobility and gentry of Ireland. This accounts for the powerful lay interest exerted to save Dame Alice and her supposed accomplices from the doom prepared for them by the Bishop of Ossory.

[2.] IACET : ROSIA : BVL : ANIME : PROPICIETVR : D̄S .

TRANSLATION:—[✚ Here] lieth Rosia Bul [on whose] soul may God have mercy.

A fragment very much injured, being but three feet in length by half a foot wide. The centre of the slab, round the verge of which the inscription ran, seems to have been originally ornamented with an incised cross, of which a small part of the base only remains upon the portion of the tomb still extant^a.

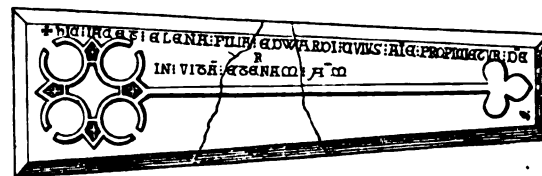
The name Bull or Bulle is to be found in Ireland about the period to which the tomb belongs. John Bulle was bail for the sheriff of Limerick in 1335; and in 1417, according to an original municipal rent-roll of the 5 Henry V., in the office of the Registrar of the diocese of Ossory, Thomas Bull, of Fowkestown, was a tenant to the Corporation of Kilkenny for a garden situate within St. Patrick's gate. It is possible that the lady for whom the monument was here placed belonged to the family of Bull, seated at Fowkestown, in the county of Kilkenny.

Rot. Pat.,
29 Ed. III.,
m. 71, 72.

[3.] ✚ HID : IACET : ELENA : FILIA : EDWARDI : QVIVS : AĪE : PROPICIETVR : DĒ : IN : VICĀ : ETERNAM : AM̄.

TRANSLATION:—✚ Here lieth Elena the daughter of Edward, on whose soul may God have mercy for life eternal. Amen.

Although broken across in several places, this tomb is in a pretty good state of preservation. It is a coffin-shaped slab, of small size, a hollow chamfer



No. 41.

running round the edge. A cross, in relief, of a very uncommon and graceful character, although of simple design^b, fills the centre, and the inscription runs

^a This tomb is altogether omitted by Shee; and Ledwich, following a mistake in O'Phelan's manuscript, gives the name of the person for whom it was erected as *Rosia Ruu*.

^b A cross of a nearly similar form occurs on a monument at Dorchester, Oxfordshire. See *Specimens of Grave Stones*, issued by the Oxford Architectural Society.

in two lines along the left side from top to bottom. The sculptor omitted the letter *r* in the word *eternam*, which he subsequently interlined. The accompanying engraving, drawn to a scale of half an inch to a foot, affords an accurate illustration of the monument.

Who Ellen, the daughter of Edward, was, we have been unable to discover, but the absence of a surname would indicate that she was not of gentle degree. She was, probably, of the wealthy burgess class, as the tomb was, no doubt, a somewhat costly one for the period.

[4.] e : LYVNS : G . . . : IQI : DEV : DE : SA : ALM

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth [. . . .]e Lyons, on whose soul may God [have mercy].

The only tomb, or rather portion of a tomb, now remaining, which bears a Norman-French inscription^a. The fragment measures 2 feet 4 inches, by 2 feet 2 inches, being the upper part of what appears to have been originally a coffin-shaped slab, but to have been reduced to its present dimensions to form a conveniently sized flooring flag! It was ornamented with an incised interlaced cross, exactly similar to that on the tomb of John Talbot (No. 8, *infra*), except that in the centre of the cross, which is left unsculptured on Talbot's tomb, there is a floriated ornament resembling a rose.

This is, perhaps, the monument of an ancestor, in Kilkenny, of the family of Lyons, also frequently spelled, in old documents, Lyoun. In the years 1338 and 1347 John Lyons filled the office of one of the two portreves of Kilkenny, the original title of the civic functionaries who, by the charter of 9 James I., were named sheriffs. Robert Lyoun was admitted a burgess of Kilkenny in 1383, and Philip Lyoun in 1389.

*Liber Primus
Kilkennie.*

[5.] ALLAN : GVIVS : ANIME : PR

TRANSLATION:—[Here lieth] Allan, on whose soul [may God] have mercy.

This is a mere fragment of a floor-slab^b, now measuring 2 feet by 1 foot

^a It appears to have been overlooked by O'Phelan, and was, therefore, not given by Ledwich or Shee. inscription, but Ledwich and Shee do not seem to have thought it worthy of insertion in their catalogues,—so that it has not been heretofore printed.

^b O'Phelan transcribed what is legible of this

*Connell's Book,
Ormonde MSS.*

4 inches. It appears to have been devoid of any ornamental sculpture, and the inscription, which is in incised Lombardic characters, is so very imperfect that it would be idle to hazard any speculation as to the individual whom it was designed to commemorate; but we may mention that a John Allan, or Aleyn, filled the office of portreve of Kilkenny in 1336, and that of sovereign in 1340.

TOMBS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.—There are six inscribed monuments of this period, which, although not all uninjured, are in a better state of preservation than those of the previous century.

[6.] † hīa : iagēc : dñs : SIMON : DVNING : QUONDĀ : PREDENTOR : ISTIUS :
edāe : QUI : OBIIT : IN : FESTO : BEATE : MARIE : MAGDALENE : ANNO : DÑI :
m̄ : adā : xxx̄ : QUARTO.

TRANSLATION:—† Here lieth Master Simon Duning, formerly precentor of this church, who died on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, A.D. m.ccc.xxxiv.

A large, plain floor-slab, which has not received any injury. It measures 7 feet by 2 feet 8 inches, and the inscription, in incised Lombardic characters, runs all round the edge^a.

*Plea Roll, 6 Ed.
II., m. 17.*

*Rot. Mem., 13
Ed. II., m. 46.*

The Dunnings, Donnings, or Downings, as the name seems to have been indifferently spelled originally, were a family of ancient note amongst the burgesses of Kilkenny, and gave name to the townland of Dunningstown, near the city. In 1312 we find Roger Duning residing at Booly, near Kilkenny, now known as Booly-Shee, and situate in the neighbourhood of Dunningstown. In 1319 Simon Duning, of Kilkenny, was cited to answer to the king and the merchants of the company of the Ricards of Luca, for the sum of £20 alleged to be due of him to that firm. The seneschal of the Liberty of Kilkenny received a precept to hear and decide the case, and Simon Duning having appeared in his court, “proved that he had been quit of the debt, and so he departed.” But, whether this personage was the Simon Duning of the monument under consideration, or another member of the family bearing the same name, we cannot vouch, as in the pleading there is no addition given to his style

^a O'Phelan erroneously copied the date on this tomb as m.cccc.xxxiv., and it is so printed by Ledwich and Shee, thus taking an entire century from the real age of the monument.

and title which would show him to have been an ecclesiastic. However, the Dunningings are found in Kilkenny during the previous century. Amongst the "Pleas of the Crown," of the year 1289, recorded in the *Liber Primus*, or most ancient book of the Corporation of Kilkenny, is contained a statement of an investigation held by Arnald le Poer, seneschal of the Liberty, sitting in his court on the Monday next after the feast of St. Michael, the 18th Edward I., into a complaint made against the retainers of Walter de la Pille, that they had gone forth from Kilkenny with horses and arms, and, coming to the corn fields of William Dunning, and other burgesses of that town, had despoiled them of a quantity of corn in ear, breaking down the stacks and carrying away the sheaves, contrary to the peace; and that the hue and cry having been raised, and the burgesses having assembled and attempted to stop the depredators, a townsman, named Bartholomew Folyng, had been dangerously wounded by a lance-thrust from one of the plunderers. In the years 1293, 1295, 1305, and 1312, Allan Dunning or Downing filled the office of sovereign or chief magistrate of Kilkenny; and in 1323 and 1324 William Dounings held the same position in the municipality. At this period, as appears from the inscription, we find a member of the family, to whom this monument was erected, a dignitary of the cathedral of St. Canice.

Connell's Book, Ormonde MSS.

[7.] IACET : ROBERTUS : DOBBYN : PAT : ET : AVE :

TRANSLATION :—[Here] lieth Robert Dobbyn [.] Pater and Ave [.]

This monument is nearly covered by the altar tomb of Richard Viscount Mountgarrett, and does not appear to have borne any ornament. The inscription has been so worn under foot as to be all but illegible throughout, and completely so in some parts^a; however, from a most careful examination, we entertain no doubt that, so far as we have given the inscription, we have done so correctly.

John Dobbin was one of the portreves of Kilkenny in 1376, and appears on the list of burgesses of that town in 1383. In 1403 he was placed on the "second twelve," and in 1405 on the "upper twelve" of the municipal council. In 1533 James Dobbin was portreve of Kilkenny. Thus it would appear that

Connell's Book, Ormonde MSS.

Liber Primus Kilkenniae.

^a It seems to have baffled the ingenuity of his MS. The portion of the inscription which O'Phelan, as no notice of the tomb appears in remains legible is now for the first time printed.

a family of the name was early settled and held a respectable position in the city, from which, however, we lose all trace of the name after the last date above given. But, in the county, we find a branch of the Dobbins near Inistiogue in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and under the denomination of the "sept of the Dobbins" they make a conspicuous figure in the Depositions of 1641 as plunderers of St. Canice's Cathedral on the breaking out of the Great Rebellion. However, connected with the city, from the time that we lose sight of the Dobbins there, we find a family named Tobin, the residence of whose head was at the castle of Lyrath, near at hand^a, and we are disposed to consider that they were of the same stock and lineage. The family of De Sancto Albino, or De St. Aubyn, who were amongst the first of the Anglo-Norman settlers to become *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*, quickly changed the name which had been left them by their progenitors, or at least suffered it to be corrupted into Tobin. The Tobins of the Compsey, a district on the borders of Tipperary and Kilkenny, are described by the annalist Clyn, in the fourteenth century, as a restless and turbulent clan, more dreaded by the neighbouring English settlers than the aboriginal Irish, and, from the proximity of their territory to his residence at the Franciscan friaries of Kilkenny and Carrick, he must have been well acquainted with them. The letters *t* and *d* being convertible, the transition from Tobin into Dobbin seems even more easy and natural than from De St. Aubyn into Tobin^b.

[8.] ✠ *Hic jacet Johannes Talbot cui⁹ aīe ppiciet⁹ d̄s.*

TRANSLATION:—✠ Here lieth John Talbot, on whose soul may God have mercy.

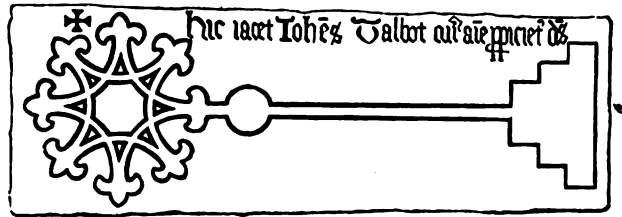
This is a floor-slab ornamented with an incised interlaced cross of a very

^a In 1556 Robert Tobin was portreve of Irish-town. In 1608 Thomas Tobin "de Leyes Rath, gent.," was called to the same office, as was Richard Tobin in 1645. Lyrath would seem to have derived its name from the family of Ley or Lye, who were numerous, ancient, and respectable in Kilkenny, and were probably its original possessors.

^b The Dean of Clonmacnoise, in the Notes and Appendix to Grace's Annals, edited by him for

the Irish Archæological Society, satisfactorily traces the name of Tobin from that of De St. Aubyn. We have not put forward the speculation that Dobbin was another corrupted form of the same name, without submitting our conclusion on the subject, and our reasons for arriving at it, to Dean Butler, and receiving his qualified approval of the suggestion. The omission of the S from St., and retention of the T sound, is common, as in Taunton for St. Anthony.

graceful pattern. The inscription is also incised, in old English characters, in some degree approaching to the Lombardic, which had been fashionable in the previous century and the beginning of that to which this tomb belongs.



No. 42.

A branch of the noble English family of Talbot seems to have settled very early in the district, and to have become connected with the municipality of Kilkenny^a. The charter granted by Theobald Walter to his burgesses of Gowran, in the reign of Richard I., is witnessed by a Robert Talbot. In 1322 Thomas Talbot received a royal pardon for all trespasses against the rights of the crown by him committed, in consideration of the services which he had rendered to the king, in company with William de Bermingham, in fighting against the O'Nolans, and other native Irish clans inhabiting the district on the eastern border of the county of Kilkenny. In 1327 Richard Talbot, who, it appears, had married Elizabeth Comyn, cousin of Adamar de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, held of the king *in capite*, amongst other property, the town of Jeripont in the Liberty of Kilkenny. The first notice which we can find of the John Talbot for whom this tomb was placed in the cathedral of St. Canice, occurs in the early part of the reign of Edward III., when we discover him filling the office of sheriff of the Cross^b of Kilkenny, and rendering an account from the eighth to the fourteenth year of that king, or from 1334 to 1340; and this account would seem to have shown a deficit on his part, as in 1343 the

Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, Introduction, p. xviii.
Rot. Pat., 16 Ed. II. In the Exchequer.

MSS., Trin. Coll. *Dubl.*, F. 1. 18.

Pipe Rolls, Bermingham Tower.

^a The connexion formed by Gilbert Talbot, ancestor of the Earls of Shrewsbury, with Kilkenny, through his marriage with Petronilla, daughter of James, the first Earl of Ormonde, may have led to the settlement there of a member of his family. There was a subsequent in-

termarriage between the Butler and Talbot families, by the alliance of Elizabeth, daughter of James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, with John, second Earl of Shrewsbury.

^b i. e. The church lands within the Liberty: the king appointed the sheriff of the Cross.

Rot. Mem., 16
& 17 Ed. III.,
m. 48.

Rot. Mem., 19
Ed. III., m. 46.

Rot. Mem., 22
& 23 Ed. III.,
m. 16, *dorso*.

*Treasurer's
Roll of Attermi-
nations*, in the
Exchequer, 1 to
30 Ed. III.

Rot. Mem., 27
& 28 Ed. III.,
m. 27.

Rot. Mem., 39
& 40 Ed. III.,
m. 16.

*Liber Primus
Kilkennie*.

Rot. Mem., 40
& 41 Ed. III.,
m. 5, *dorso*.

Rot. Mem., 48
& 49 Ed. III.,
m. 47.

Rot. Mem., 5 &
6 Ric. II., m.
54.

Stanihurst.

*Henry Marle-
burgh*.

seneschal of Kilkenny was ordered to arrest John Talbot and bring him before the Court of Exchequer to account for his arrears. In 1345 we have him before the barons rendering a fresh account, and acknowledging himself indebted to the crown in the sum of £10 10s. 3d., which being unable or unwilling to discharge, he was committed to the custody of the marshal on the 20th October. Whether he remained in prison for three years we cannot say, but on the 10th March, 1348, we find a mandate issued from the treasurer to the seneschal of the Liberty of Kilkenny, directing the suspension of the distraint made on the property of John Talbot for the amount of his shrievalty arrears. Finally, he appears to have been forgiven the sum of £10 6s. 9d., which was within a few shillings of the amount of his debt. His credit does not seem to have suffered much by his delinquency in the shrievalty, for in 1353 we find John Talbot accepted as security for John Fitz Oliver de la Freigne in the seneschalship of Kilkenny, and in 1366 he went bail for both the seneschal of the Liberty and the sheriff of the Cross of Kilkenny. In 1357 John Talbot filled the office of portreve of Kilkenny, and the next year his name appears on the list of the commons or burgesses of the town. In 1367 his son, Robert Fitz-John Talbot, was elected to his father's former office, that of sheriff of the Cross; and in 1375 John himself answered in the Court of Exchequer, as attorney for Patrick de Freygne, Knight, seneschal of Kilkenny. In 1381 John again became security, in conjunction with John Wafferton, for his son Robert, who received from the crown the custody of two parts of the property of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, which had been seized into the king's hands by virtue of the Statute against Absentees. John Talbot was, no doubt, a very old man at this period, and he would appear to have died and received sepulture in the cathedral of St. Canice immediately after, as we can discover no subsequent mention of his name in the public records. His son, Robert, however, makes a much more important figure in the annals of Kilkenny, early chroniclers having handed down his name to be honoured of posterity as the "worthie gentleman," who, in the year 1400, "inclosed with walls the better part of the towne, by which it was greatly fortified." A later annalist, Dowling, affirms that Robert Talbot executed this work at his own expense; a statement which is scarcely credible, when we consider the station of the individual and the large outlay which the erection of the mural boundary of such a town as Kilkenny must have involved. It is

much more probable that, whilst the walls were built under his direction and supervision, the means were supplied by the state, the lord of the Liberty, or the Corporation of the municipality*. Robert Talbot is seen at the period in question filling prominent offices and exercising powers derived from these three sources: in 1381 and 1388 we find him nominated by the king as a *custos pacis*, or justice of the peace, for the county of Kilkenny; in 1381 he was farmer of the property of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, the proprietor of the manor and castle of Kilkenny, whilst in 1385 he was directed by the crown to pay out of the profits of that trust a sum of 33s. 4d. to Thomas ffreyysshe, for his labour about the king's business in the Exchequer; for the years 1374, 1375, and 1386 he filled the office of sovereign or chief magistrate of the town of Kilkenny; and from 1384 to 1408 his name is always placed first on the list of the twelve chief burgesses of the Corporation, answering to the modern aldermen. This benefactor of Kilkenny—for, whether he supplied the funds himself or merely administered those intrusted to him by the state or municipality for the purpose, it is obvious that through his instrumentality an important benefit was conferred upon the town—died in the year 1415, and doubtless, although the fact is not recorded, was interred, with his father, within the aisles of St. Canice. Other members of the family were at the same period office-bearers in the Corporation of Kilkenny, but we shall have occasion to refer to them in noticing the tombs of the ensuing century.

Rot. Pat., 5 Ric. II., pars 1^a, m. 205; and *Rot. Pat.*, 12 Ric. II., m. 182.

Rot. Mem., 9 Ric. II., m. 12.

Connell's Book, Ormonde MSS.

Liber Primus Kilkenniae.

Marleburgh's Annals.

[9.] *Ḥic* : *us* : *willm̄s* : *carliel* : *q̄nd'* : *rector* : *pochil* : *ac* : *archidiacon'* : *mid'* : *q̄* : *eccliar'* : *dublínēs* : *cass'* : *ossor'* : *fern'* : *clon'* : *q̄* : *corkag'* : *canoní*
 *cui'* : *aiē* : *ppiciet'* : *d's* : *am* :

TRANSLATION:—Here [lieth] Master William Carliel, rector of Youghal, and archdeacon of Meath, also canon of the churches of Dublin, Cashel, Ossory, Ferns, Cloyn, and Cork, [.] on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.

A coffin-shaped slab, 6 feet 1½ inches long, by 2 feet 6 inches at top, and 2 feet at bottom. It would seem to have been intended originally to lie even with the floor, but it has been modernly elevated on a plain base, two feet high.

* See more on this subject in a paper, by one of the Authors, on "The Builder of the Walls of Kilkenny," in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. i. p. 34.

The tomb is altogether devoid of ornament or sculpture, except the inscription, which is in large old English characters, deeply incised, some of the letters presenting curiously floriated flourishes.

Master William Carliel, or, as the name is more generally spelled, Karlell, although holding so many ecclesiastical benefices, seems to have been, as was not unusual with clergymen in his time, far more largely occupied in the discharge of civil duties and legal functions. We meet his name first in the public records in the year 1364, when the Barons of the Exchequer received an order to compute the amount due to William de Karlell and Nicholas Lumbard, who had been commissioned to supervise and accelerate the collection of the debts due to the king in the counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, and Limerick, at a fee of 6s. 8d. each, per diem. The barons accordingly reported, on their oaths, that the said William and Nicholas had been so employed on the king's business from the 14th day of August of the 38th of the king's reign, to the 26th September next following, being forty-four days, which left a sum of £29 6s. 8d. due to them. In 1369, having surrendered the custody of the lands which had belonged to Ralph, Earl of Stafford, in the county of Kilkenny, into the king's hands, he received an acquittance for the sum of £20, which had come into his possession as seneschal and custos of that property, from the 27th September in that year, to Easter next after. In 1372 we have William de Karlell elevated to the dignity of second baron of the Exchequer; and grants were made to him of £20 for collecting the subsidies in the counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, and Waterford, and a like sum in remuneration of his labour and expenses in selling the fruits of the benefices in Ireland. In the same year, on the 8th of March, the king addressed an order to William de Karlell and Geoffrey de la Launde, late farmers of the lands of Ralph, Earl of Stafford, pointing out that three years previously the royal permission had been given to the Earl to re-enter upon the possession of his property, previously forfeited in consequence of his absence from Ireland; but the rents of the lordship of Tamelyn, of the town of Kilkenny, and of the third part of the lordship of Kilkenny, not having been then accordingly transferred to him, it was his majesty's pleasure that they should now see that duty performed. In the same year Karlell caused Sir William Wellesley to be arrested for not answering in the Exchequer for the estate just come into his possession by the decease

Rot. Mem., 38
& 39 Ed. III.,
m. 4.

Pipe Roll, Ber-
mingham
Tower.

Rot. Claus., 46
Ed. III., m. 4.

Id., m. 42.

Id., m. 67.

Id., m. 20.

of his father, Sir John Wellesley; and in the following year Richard Bateman was found guilty of contumelious words, having said that "William de Karlell, the Baron of the Exchequer, was *not worthy of arresting so great a Magnate* as William de Wellesley, and that only he acted then in the King's service he should regret his doing so while he lived." In 1373 William Karlell, baron of the Exchequer, was commissioned to ascertain by inquisition the value of all the property, as well lay as clerical, in the king's hands, in the counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, and Limerick; to collect the king's debts, imprisoning those who should refuse to pay; and also to inquire in the town of Youghal how many pipes of wine James, Earl of Ormonde, had received of the prizage of wines coming in ships or barges to the said town, from the time that the Earl had the prizage granted to him. The same year William de Karlell granted to the Earl of Ormonde 100 marks, a yearly rent issuing from one messuage, two curtilages, and a dovecot in Youghal^a. In 1374 he petitioned the Lord Lieutenant, William de Wyndsore, and the Council of Ireland, for remuneration for his trouble and losses, incurred in the service of the state. He showed that he had been appointed by patent to clear the green-wax accounts within the counties of Waterford, Cork, Kilkenny, and Tipperary, and to take the election of the sheriffs of the crosses of Kilkenny, Tipperary,

Lynch's *Feudal Baronies*, p. 98.

Rot. Mem., 47 & 48 Ed. III., m. 9, verso.

Ormonde MSS.

Rot. Cl., 48 Ed. III., m. 30.

^a The original grant is preserved in the Ormonde Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, and we think it worth transcribing here, as it gives some curious particulars with respect to boundaries. It is as follows:—

"Nou[?]int vniu[?]si p p[?]sentes me Willm[?] de Karlele rectorem Ecc[?]lie beate Marie del Yoghyll concessisse t[?] dedisse d[?]no Jacobo le Botiller Comit[?] Dormond cent[?] marcas annui redd[?] leuand[?] &c. in vno mesuag[?] duob[?] curtilagiis t[?] vno columbario cū ptin[?] in le Yoghyll que se extendūt in longitudine a via Regia ex pte boreali vsque ten[?] Johis Norwiche ex pte australi t[?] in latitudine a ten[?] d[?]ci Johis Norwiche t[?] Johis Desshe de Cantilupo ex pte orientali vsque venellam que ducit ad ecclesiam beate Marie del Yoghyll ex pte occidentali que qu[?]dam fuerūt d[?]ni Johis Tunstall

nup psone ecc[?]lie pd[?]cē t[?] que ego d[?]cūs Will[?]is heo ex dono t[?] feoffamento d[?]ni Johis de Hirst c[?]fici, hend[?] &c., eidem com[?] &c., imp[?]petuū &c. In cujus rei testimoniū p[?]sent[?] sigill[?] meū apposui. Dat[?] xviii die marcii anno r[?] r[?] Edwardi t[?]rcii post conquest[?] Ang[?]l quadragesimo sexto t[?] ffrancie t[?]rcesimo t[?]rcio."

The seal appended is of red wax, and bears, beneath a rich canopy, the Virgin and Child in one niche, and St. Catherine in the other. Round the edge, in black letter, runs the following legend:—"Sigillum : . . . i : de : Karlell'." The seal is small, measuring 1½ inches in diameter. The matrix seems to have been beautifully executed, but, unfortunately, the impression affixed to this deed was much flattened whilst the wax was soft.

and Weysford, and the counties of Waterford and Cork, in the time of Robert de Assheton, late lord justice; that he had taken divers inquisitions for the king's benefit, in some of which it was found that James le Botyller, Earl of Ormonde, had received above £200 of the prize wines at Waterford (with which he was charged of right to the king) under colour of the king's letters; and that he had lost two horses, worth twenty marks, about the said affairs, and the arresting of a ship at Waterford for six weeks, and one horse worth £5 in going from Catherlagh to Tristernagh, by the lord justice's order, to take the oath of James de la Hyde, late seneschal of the Liberty of Meath, who, on account of the wars in Meath, could not come to Catherlagh to take his oath, in which journey two weeks were expended; and that he also, by direction of the Lord Lieutenant and Council, had gone towards the county of Weysford, at great pains and expense, to inquire about found treasure. For all these services, on the 8th of June, he was rewarded with a grant of £20. In the same year a Parliament assembled in Dublin, in the octaves of St. Hilary, to which were summoned, amongst many peers and knights, "William de Karlell, clerk, and John de Karlell, clerk, who were of the king's counsel;" and in the following year William was confirmed in the possession of "the prebend of Killaugy, together with the church of Coulstuff, to it annexed, and the canonry of in the cathedral of Ferns." In 1380 we find the seneschal of Kilkenny ordered to distrain the goods of William Karlell, because that he having been appointed to receive the temporalities of the archbishopric of Cashel, and two parts of the profits of the prebend of Fennor, which were seised into the king's hands on account of the absenteeism of those to whom they belonged, had not duly rendered an account of his trust. He appears soon to have got out of this scrape, for in 1383 we have him filling the office of chief baron of the Exchequer, and as such commissioned, in company with John Bretton, chief remembrancer, to ascertain the value of the property of Edmond de Mortimer, late Earl of March and Ulster, in Ireland. In the same year King Richard II. ordered, that—"Inasmuch as our beloved consort, Anne, has appointed William de Karlell her general attorney to levy and receive, by himself or his deputies, to her use, the queen's gold^a, from the 22nd day of January in the

Rot. Claus., 48
Ed. III., m.
130 to 132.

Rot. Pat., 49
Ed. III., m. 15.

Rot. Mem.,
4 & 5 *Ric. II.*,
m. 84.

Rot. Mem., 7 &
8 *Ric. II.*, m.
2.

Rot. Mem., 7 &
8 *Ric. II.*, m.
10 *dorso*.

^a "Queen-gold (*Aurum Reginæ*) is a royal duty or revenue belonging to every Queen of England, during her marriage to the king, payable by persons in this kingdom and Ireland, upon

5th year of our reign, on which day our said consort was in our said land of Ireland, viz., of each fine of 10 marks levied to us in said land, 1 mark, and of each fine exceeding 10 marks at the same rate, according to ancient custom in said parts"—it was his majesty's pleasure that the lord deputy, the treasurer, and the barons of the Exchequer, should aid and assist him in every way in the discharge of that duty. In the same year, 1383, we find the names of William Carlele and Thomas Carlele^a upon the roll of burgesses of the town of Kilkenny; and in this year also it would appear that the former died, and was interred in the cathedral of St. Canice, it being recorded in the archives of the Exchequer that William de Karlell, whilst acting as procurator of Henry Dowet, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, during the absence of that dignitary at the court of Rome on the king's business, died on Ash Wednesday, in the seventh year of King Richard II.; and his brother having been sued, as his executor for his debts, the pleading serves fully to identify this William Karlell, or de Karlell, baron of the Exchequer, with the William Carleil of the monument under consideration, as he is expressly stated to have been Archdeacon of Meath and parson of the church of Kells thereunto annexed.

Liber Primus Kilkennie.

Rot. Mem., 8 & 9 Ric. II., m. 30.

Rot. Mem., 9 Ric. II., m. 7.

[10.] acet dñs johēs de karlell quōdā cancellarius ecc
 tí pat'cúí dublín' ac eccliarū fernō & límt'icēn' canōíc' &

TRANSLATION:—[Here] lieth Master John de Karlell, formerly chancellor of the church [. . .] St. Patrick, Dublin, also canon of the churches of Ferns and Limerick, and [. . .]

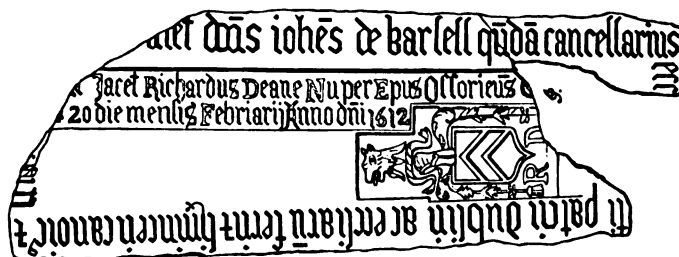
A floor slab, originally coffin-shaped, but much broken and injured. The

divers grants of the king, by way of fine or oblation, &c., being one full tenth part above the entire fines on pardons, contracts, or agreements, which becomes a real debt to the queen, by the name of Aurum Reginae, upon the party's bare agreement with the king for his fine, and recording the same."—Jacob's *Law Dictionary*, sub voce. "Aurum reginae, or Queen's gold, appears in many records to have been paid in Ireland from a very remote period; and on its being questioned, or perhaps misunderstood, King Ed-

ward the Third enclosed to his treasurer and barons in Ireland a transcript of a statute (as he says) anciently edited and used and approved of in the Exchequer of England, commanding them to enrol the same, and to observe it in levying the Queen's gold."—Lynch's *Feudal Baronies*, p. 12.

* In 1384 Thomas de Karlell was empowered to collect the king's debts in Cork and Limerick (*Rot. Mem.*, 8 & 9 Ric. II., m. 2): his name frequently occurs in the public records.

inscription, in deeply incised Old English characters, ran round the edge, and the centre would appear to have been left plain till the stone was appropriated as a monument for Bishop Deane in the seventeenth century, and his arms sculptured upon it, beside an inscription to the memory of that prelate, cut in relief. The striking contrast between the original and more modern inscriptions is faithfully shown by the accompanying engraving.



No. 48.

John de Karlell was the brother of William, the baron of the Exchequer, and, like him—living at a period when education was a rare gift amongst the laity, and the chief offices of the state were, therefore, necessarily committed to ecclesiastics—he devoted his attention more largely to civil than clerical functions. We first notice his name in the records of the country in the year 1374, when, with William, he was summoned to Parliament as one of the king's counsel.

Rot. Mem., 49
& 50 Ed. III.,
m. 5 *dorso*.

In 1376 Thomas Vernvill having pleaded, in excuse for non-attendance at a Parliament held in Kilkenny on the crastine of the Holy Trinity, 49th Edward III., that had he absented himself from his property in Meath, it would have been laid waste by the incursions of the O'Conors and Matthew Fitz-Redmond Bremyngham, Master John de Karlell was associated with Walter de Cusack, knight, seneschal of the Liberty of Meath, to ascertain by inquisition the truth of these allegations. In 1380 John Karlell received from the crown a grant of the custody of two parts of the prebend of Taghmon, in the cathedral of Ferns, which had been seised into the king's hands on account of the non-residence of John Keten, the prebendary, who continued to sojourn in England, notwithstanding the statute against absenteeism. In the year 1383, on Thursday after the first Sunday in Lent, John de Karlell, clerk, came before the venerable father, the Bishop of Ossory, treasurer of Ireland and commissioner for

Rot. Mem., 4 &
5 Ric. II., m.
39.

Rot. Mem., 7 &
8 Ric. II., m.
35 *dorso*.

the collection of the king's dues, in whose presence he entered into security to account for, in the Exchequer, and fully satisfy all and singular the debts and accounts of William de Karlell, clerk, deceased. The bails whom he gave for the due performance of this undertaking were Thomas de Karlell, of Kilkenny, John Aynsarowe, parson of the church of St. Mary, Wexford, and Thomas Black, parson of the church of Ballymany, county of Kildare. In 1385 proceedings at law were instituted against John, as his brother William's representative, for those debts due to the crown, and the suit seems to have been carried on for a considerable period, and not to have terminated during his life. In the meantime, however, his interest at court appears to have been in no way diminished, as he subsequently obtained large preferment in the legal profession, and had various offices of trust confided to him. On the 20th April, 1386, a royal license was granted to John de Karlell, clerk, to bring to any port in the county of Dublin fifty crannocks of wheat, and export them to Portugal, Gascony, and Bayonne, and to buy there wine, salt, and iron, "pro usu hospicii sui." In 1388, on the 8th March, the king, on his petition, gave permission that, during his absence from Ireland, he might have the power to levy the profits of the chancellorship of St. Patrick's, Dublin, of the prebend of Fynglas to it annexed, and of the prebend of Slewecolter in the cathedral of Ferns, and of the prebend of Offyn in the cathedral of Limerick, as also of the farm of the ward and marriage of Ralph Fitz-Morice, Baron of Burnchurch^a, and of the farm of the deanery of Dublin and of the prebend of Crospatryk, with the church of Rosclare and the chapel of Ballymore to that prebend belonging. In 1391 we find John de Karlell filling the office of a baron of the Exchequer; and in the following year we have the king ordering the treasurer of Ireland to remunerate him for his labour in arranging for the coming of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, into Ireland on two occasions^b. He died in 1394, as appears

Rot. Mem., 9
Ric. II., m. 7.

Rot. Pat., 10
Ric. II., m. 226.

Rot. Pat., 12
Ric. II., m. 247.

Rot. Pat., 15
Ric. II., m. 42,
43.

^a The Baron of Burnchurch, county of Kilkenny, descended from Maurice Fitzgerald, the Black Knight, was a member of a family of ancient importance, who lost their patrimony by adhering to the fortunes of the Stuarts.

^b Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, was nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in

July, 1393, and continued to hold the appointment to October, 1394, although he never came over from England to enter on the duties of the office; so that it would appear the preparations twice ordered to be made for his reception by Master John de Karlell were unavailing.—*Harris' Ware*, vol. ii., p. 106.

Rot. Mem., 13
& 14 Hen. IV.,
m. 8.

from proceedings entered into in the year 1411, when it was found, by an inquisition^a held in Carlow before the barons of the Exchequer, on Monday before the feast of the Ascension, that "John Carlele, clerk, debtor of our lord the king," had deceased on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, in the eighteenth year of King Richard II., and at the time of his death was seised in fee of a certain tenement in the town of Kilkenny, of the yearly value of 13s. 4d., of which Sir Edward Perers, knight, was in occupation, as tenant, levying and receiving the profits of the same. The result was, that the crown took proceedings against Sir Edward Perers to recover this property in satisfaction of the royal claim, but a jury of the inhabitants of Kilkenny having given a verdict in favour of the knight, the barons of the Exchequer determined to relinquish the king's demand. We have no subsequent mention of any member of the family of Carlele or de Karlell as being connected with Kilkenny.

[11.] *Hic jacet dn⁹ Willmus uayl*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth the Lord William Vayl [. . . .]

A fragment measuring 2 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 5 inches. The inscription, in incised old English characters, ran round the verge, and the centre of the slab was devoid of ornament.

The names of several English and Irish families have undergone various transformations in the lapse of centuries, but there is none, that we are aware of, which has suffered so many and such strange metamorphoses as that of the person whose monument is under consideration. The Anglo-Norman progenitor of the family was designated De Valle, doubtless from the situation of his residence or property, and that patronymic was carried down for a while by his

^a The finding of the Inquisition, duly set out in the Memoranda Rolls of the Exchequer, furnishes, we believe, the best legal proof of the time of his decease, and we, therefore, state it above on that authority; nevertheless, there is very good evidence extant that John de Karlell was dead at least two years before the feast of St. Michael, 1394. In an original Irish Privy Council Roll of the 16th Richard II., preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, a minute

is recorded, under the date 15th April in that year (1392), to this effect, that Walter Eure and William de Carlell, executors of John de Carlell, clerk, prayed the Lord Justice and Council for the custody of the goods, "q' fuerūt le dit Johñ jo' de soñ moriant," which were seised into the king's hands. Custody was granted accordingly, on condition that the executors should pay his debts into the Exchequer. The order is dated from Trim.

descendants; but soon the language introduced by the conquering Normans began to lose some of its original characteristics, and the French, De Valle, became the English, Vale. The orthography of the language was at the time, and for a considerable period subsequently, in a most unsettled state, and this name was spelled, as it suited the whim or pleasure of those who wrote it, Vale, Vayl, Veel, and Veal. Now veal was French for the young of the cow, so that the translation of the name of Vale into Calf, by those who adhered to the Saxon language, was easy and natural enough, and thus throughout the fourteenth century we find the members of a single family indifferently called, and calling themselves, De Valle, Vale, Vayl, Veel, Calf, and Calfe. But in the next century the name presents itself to us in a new phase, as, by slightly changing the initial letter, it became *Wale*; whilst in the seventeenth century it underwent a new and final transformation by changing the last letter, and took the form of *Wall*. There are numerous families of the name still resident in the county and city of Kilkenny, all in humble circumstances; and did not the public records of the country enable us to trace their patronymic, in all its phases, from the Anglo-Norman invasion to the present time, few indeed would be likely to recognise the connexion between the aristocratic Norman name of De Valle, and the plebeian cognomen of *Wall*^a. The family of De Valle seems to have made a very early settlement in Kilkenny. Between the years 1277 and 1279 John de Valle filled the important office of seneschal of the Liberty, and made a figure in a law-suit connected with his jurisdiction there, which was, doubtless, looked upon with much interest at the time, as he was accused of infringing the clerical privileges. It appears that he caused David de Pembroke, clerk, to be arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Kilkenny, during a day and night, for rescuing a horse, his property, which had been seized, under

*Common Plea
Roll, 6, 7, & 8
Ed. 1., m. 1,
verso.*

^a We have already, in noticing the monument of Robert Dobbyn (No. 7), given a curious specimen of the mutations occurring in a local family name; but there were other Kilkenny Anglo-Norman families, who, becoming "mere Irish," changed their patronymics. Thus the Archdeacons assumed the *alias* of Mac Odo (the son of Hugh) from the Christian name of one of their progenitors, and this in process of time became

corrupted into *Cody*, a name still very prevalent in the district, where its identity with that of Archdeacon has long been forgotten. One of the most ancient and respectable English families in the county of Kilkenny was that of De Fraxineto, or De la Freigne (of the Ash-grove), different branches of whose posterity have for centuries called themselves respectively *Frayne*, *Freny*, *French*, and *Ash*.

Y

an order from the seneschal's court, for debt. The priest accordingly took proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas, on the ground of false imprisonment, alleging that the seneschal had no jurisdiction over a cleric, but should have sent the complaint to be dealt with in the bishop's court. However, a jury disposed of the case by finding a verdict that the proceeding of the seneschal was just and proper, it being a matter touching the king's peace. In 1309 we find a Richard de Valle holding property in Kilkenny and Carrick, and married to the famous Kilkenny witch, Dame Alice Kyteler, being her third husband. In 1309, this Richard, with Walter de Valle, and William Calf, were amongst the magnates summoned to attend a Parliament held at Kilkenny, in the octaves of the Purification, where some important enactments were passed, which Pembridge *naïvely* tells us, would have been "profitable to the land of Ireland if they had been observed." In 1325, Henry de Valle, amongst several other men of distinction connected with Kilkenny, passed a security to Richard Bishop of Ossory, in the sum of £1000, which appears to have been a bail-bond for William Utlaw, the son of Dame Alice Kyteler, who was at the time prosecuted by the bishop for sharing in the alleged diabolical practices of his mother. In 1355 Raymond de Valle possessed half a knight's fee at Incheholigan, now called Castleinch, which he held by suit and service from John de Hotham de Boudeby, the then proprietor of the lordship of Kilkenny. The William Calf above referred to would seem not to be the Lord William Vayl of the monument, as the former is stated to have been amongst the Irish knights in the English army who died of the plague during the siege of Calais in 1347; but a knight named William Vale, or de Valle, flourished at the period to which the tomb obviously belongs, nearly a quarter of a century later, having been a courtier and household servant of the king, and subsequently doing good service, as a public official and soldier, in the adjoining county of Carlow. In 1356 the king committed the custody of the county of Carlow to William Vale; and who that personage was, and the services which he performed, we learn from a Close Roll dated two years later—a royal order having issued for the payment of £20 to William Vale, the king's valet, sheriff of Carlow, that sum being granted to him on his petition, because all his goods had been lost, and many of his friends and followers, who had formed his retinue, had fallen in the service of the king, in repulsing the neighbouring enemy, who laid waste the aforesaid

Rot. Pat., 3
Ed. II., m. 226.

Rot. Claus., 3
Ed. II., m. 45.

Rot. Claus., 18
Ed. II., m. 50,
51.

Rot. Pat., 29
Ed. III., m.
147.

Pembridge, *sub*
anno.

Rot. Pat., 30
Ed. III., m. 48.

Rot. Claus.,
32 Ed. III., 1^a
pars, m. 6; and
2^a pars, m. 113.

county, and for the most part slew its inhabitants ; and because he had killed Donald Taghsone O'Nolan, Murgh Fitzstephen O'Nolan, Murgh Fitzwilliam O'Nolan, Philip O'Bryne, and many others of the captains of the Irish of those parts, and had brought their heads, by the king's command, to the castle of Dublin, there to be set up, although he might have had a great ransom by delivering the heads elsewhere. The same year this reward or compensation was increased from £20 to £30. These grants were made in the month of August, 1358, and in the October following the king issued an order that, inas-

Rot. Pat., 32
Ed. III., m. 57.

much as the Confederate Irish of Leinster had slain the adjacent inhabitants of the county of Carlow with a great army, burned their villages and corn in the fields, and carried away their goods without any resistance, power should be given to William de Valle, sheriff of Carlow, Brother John, preceptor of Kiltergy, and John Breton, of Carlow, to assess the men of the district for horses and arms for resisting the enemy. In the same year Peter Butler and William de Valle were commissioned by the crown to make two "wards"—that is, to build castles—in the marches of Carlow and Kildare, and to provision them for garrisons to keep the neighbouring Irish in check.

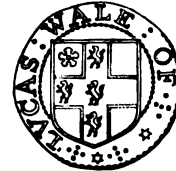
The family of Vale, Wale, or Wall, continued to hold a position amongst the burgesses of Kilkenny till the end of the seventeenth century, when the success of the Williamite cause established the Protestant interest on a firm footing in the municipal affairs. The Vales were always on the Roman Catholic side of the question ; and the last of the family who made any figure in the city was a merchant named Lucas Wale, or Luke Wall, for he is thus indiscriminately designated in the public records. Early in the reign of James II. he was one of nine gentlemen engaged in collecting a fund in the city of Kilkenny, to defray the expenses of a deputation to London, to bring under the notice of the king the disabilities by which his Irish Roman Catholic subjects felt themselves aggrieved. He was also among the first of the members of his religious profession admitted to the corporation of his native city, on the receipt, in 1686, of the order of the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant, directing that the oath of supremacy should be no longer adhered to as a bar against the admission of Roman Catholics to municipal offices. Luke Wall was immediately advanced to the shrievalty, and was known as "the Papist sheriff," but he died during his year of office. He seems to have been

Rot. Pat., 32
Ed. III., m. 118.

Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.

Connell's Book,
Kilkenny
Castle.

an extensive trader, and he struck a penny token for convenience in carrying on his business. The legend on the token styles him "Lucas Wale, of Kilkeny, Merchant," and bears on the obverse the family arms, viz., argent on a cross sable five lions rampant or; with the addition of a mullet, which the engraver of the die shaped more like a rose, as a mark of cadency. On the specimen which has been engraved to supply our illustration, one of the lions rampant was obliterated^a.



No. 44.

TOMBS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—There is no monument bearing a date of this period, and but two undated tombs which we can assign to it,—one of them, from the internal evidence of its design, and the fashion of the inscription, the other from having ascertained the fact that the person for whom it was erected was living subsequently to the year 1400. Both, however, obviously belong to the early portion of the century.

(12.) *R* ent Ricard^o Talbot quondā burgens' bill' kilk
 an p'pr amen

TRANSLATION:—Here lie Richard Talbot, formerly burgess of the town of Kilkenny on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen.

A floor-slab, originally ornamented with an incised cross of the fashion of John Talbot's tomb (No. 8), now, however, nearly obliterated. The inscription, which is in incised Old English letters, is also very much defaced, but the portion above given is still decipherable^b. The stone measures 6 feet 3 inches, by 2 feet 7½ at top, and 2 feet 4½ inches at bottom.

Richard Talbot was, probably, a brother to Robert, the builder of the walls of Kilkenny. In 1381 he was one of the "upper twelve," or council of chief

*Liber Primus
 Kilkennia.*

^a See *Transactions of the Kilk. Archæol. Society*, vol. ii., p. 165. The seal of Thomas de Valle, attached to a deed of the fourteenth century, bears in chief a lion passant gardant, in base three covered cups.—*Ormonde MSS.*

^b This inscription is now for the first time

printed. O'Phelan would appear to have been unable to decipher it, probably from the circumstance that a kind of cement was at a remote period mixed upon the monument, which filled up the letters, until it was, not without difficulty, removed.

burgesses in the Corporation of the town, whilst in 1399 and 1404 he filled the office of sovereign, or chief magistrate. In the lists of members of the Corporation of Kilkenny, supplied by the *Liber Primus*, for the years 1405 to 1407, his name is always set out amongst those of the "upper twelve," but in the list of 1408 it is no longer recorded, and as we thenceforth lose all trace of him in the municipal archives, it may be safely concluded that in that year he died. A Thomas Talbot, who, perhaps, was another brother of the "worthie gentleman," appears for some years longer as making a figure amongst the local notabilities. He was sovereign of the Corporation in 1402, and bail for the good conduct of the town gaoler in 1405; whilst in 1416 we find that the king appointed Thomas Talbot of Kilkenny, and John Brode of Thomastown, coroners of the Liberty of Kilkenny. For two centuries subsequently, the name is not to be found in the state or municipal archives, as connected with Kilkenny; but in the middle of the seventeenth century we have a Thomas Talbot taking a conspicuous place amongst the traders of that city. In 1661 he was master of the merchant tailors' guild, and was elected with three others to represent that body in the civic council. It would seem, however, that his own trade was not that of a tailor, but that he was a vintner, as he is so designated in the legend upon a penny token, which he struck about this period, bearing on the obverse a representation of the sun, apparently the sign of his tavern^a. The accompanying illustration gives an accurate representation of Talbot's token, which is an extremely rare one. It is possible, however, that this Thomas Talbot was a settler in Kilkenny after its reduction by Cromwell, when it underwent a partial "plantation." The original Kilkenny branch of the Talbot family would seem to have died out long previously, leaving no memento of their connexion with the district, save the two monuments in the cathedral, and the name of the townland of Talbot's Inch, which derives its appellation from their olden proprietorship^b.

Connell's Book,
Kilkenny
Castle. *Liber*
Primus Kilken-
niæ.
Rot. Pat., 3
Hen. V., m. 90.



No. 45.

^a See *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. ii., p. 159.

^b One of the ancient mural defences of Kilkenny was called "Talbot's Castle," and it is often referred to in the Corporation rent-rolls

of the seventeenth century, but the name has been long since changed or forgotten. From the position assigned to the building in the old rentals, it would appear to have been situated near Patrick-street, and there is reason to think

[13.]

Hic jacet Ric'us Forstall.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Richard Forstall.

A floor-slab, ornamented with an incised interlaced cross, closely resembling that upon the tomb of John Talbot (No. 8), except that within the circular expansion in the shaft a quatrefoil is sculptured. The brief inscription is rudely incised in Old English characters, on the right side, running parallel with the shaft of the cross, and was, apparently, an after-thought. In fact, the tomb has the appearance of belonging to the fourteenth century, whilst the character of the inscription must be assigned unquestionably to that which followed.

The family of Forstall, or fforstall, as it is more generally written, was ancient in the county of Kilkenny, and, in the reign of Elizabeth, Camden still mentions them as amongst the principal gentry of the district. The head of the house was proprietor of the manors and castles of Kilfera and Ballyfrunk, but a branch of the family was settled in the town of Kilkenny, and there engaged in mercantile pursuits early in the fourteenth century. fforstall's land and fforstall's bridge are old landmarks in the Corporation rentals. In the year 1402, the king, at the requisition of Henry Forstall, caused to be exemplified a certain grant, sealed with the seal of Geffry Forstall, the 4th October, 44th year of King Edward III., demising to Gregory Fitz-John Archer all the lands which he held, of the gift of said Geffry, in the borough of Kilkenny; also, that after the death of Geffry all the aforesaid lands should remain entirely to Elias Fitz-Adam Archer, and the heirs of his body for ever^a. This Henry Forstall was portreve of Kilkenny within the walls, for the winter half-year, in 1407. Richard fforstall, apparently the person for whom the monument was placed in St. Canice's Cathedral, is on the roll of burgesses of Kilkenny for the year 1383, and he was, probably, that Richard Forstall who, in

Rot. Pat., 3
Hen. IV., m.
150.

*Liber Primus
Kilkenniae.*

it may have been the round flanking tower still existing in good preservation in the grounds of the District National Model School, which has been modernly known by the title of "Watters' Turret."

^a In a burgage-roll of the Corporation of Kilkenny, of the year 1644, amongst the manuscripts in Kilkenny Castle, Robert Archer is

charged with a rent of 4½*d.* for a messuage called "Forstal's land." In 1383 Thomas fforstall is on the roll of burgesses of Kilkenny in the *Liber Primus*; and in 1386 the king made Thomas Forstall precentor of the cathedral church of Ossory, the see being vacant, and commanded the Dean and Chapter to install him.—*Rot. Pat.*, 10 Ric. II., m. 157.

1358, was appointed one of the collectors for the cantred of Sileyrthir, modernly called Shillelogher, to get in the subsidy voted by the county of Kilkenny, to aid the king in carrying on war with the chiefs of the Irish septs of Leinster; and who, in 1381, was security that Robert de la ffreyne, knight, should account for £17 5s. 4d., rents of the manor of Grenan.

Rot. Pat., 32
Ed. III., m. 64.

TOMBS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—The monuments of this period are very numerous, there being twenty-eight bearing dates, and some others, the character of which affords sufficient evidence that they belong to the sixteenth century.

[14.] *Hic jacet Jacobus Schorthals dn̄s de Ballylarcā & de Ballykif q̄ h̄ac tūbā fieri fecit año d̄i m̄o cccc̄o lxx̄o Et Katerina Whyte uxor ei⁹ p̄ quor̄ & parētū aīb⁹ c̄libet d̄ dn̄i & salutā āgl̄ cōcedūt̄ lxxx dies Indulḡ.*

TRANSLATION.—Here lieth James Schorthals, lord of Ballylarcā and of Ballykif [Ballykeeffe], who caused this tomb to be erected in the year of our Lord mccccvii. And Katerina Whyte, his wife. Eighty days' indulgence are granted to any who shall say the Lord's [Prayer] and the Angelic Salutation for their souls, and the souls of their parents.

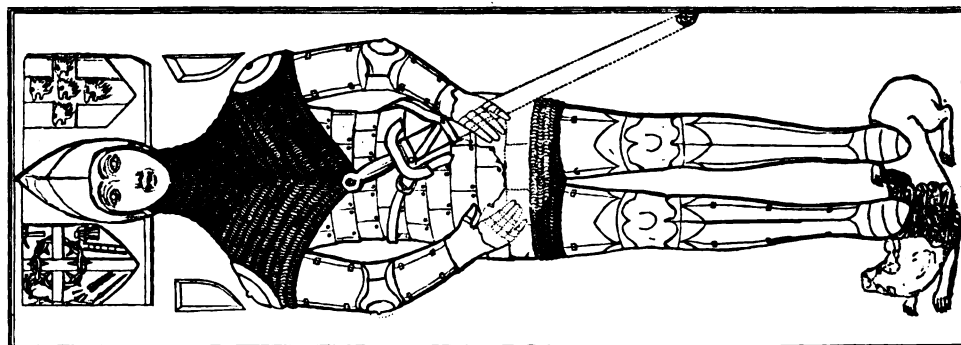
This is an altar tomb, surmounted by the effigy of the deceased. The front supporting slab is divided into six arched niches, in each of which is sculptured a representation of one of the Apostles, but there can be no certainty as to whether this portion belonged to the original monument. The effigy (as will be seen by the engraving at p. 166, which has been carefully drawn to a scale somewhat less than two inches to three feet) is represented in a short shirt of chain mail, denominated the "haubergeon"^a, which, worn beneath a coat of plates, and projecting below the latter, covers the upper part of the thighs. The body armour fits close to the person, and was probably composed of leather, strengthened by plates or scales of steel, riveted to each other in bands, the joints being broken after the fashion of roof-tiling^b. The arms are encased

^a It has been suggested that the chain mail projecting below the tegulated body armour, merely represents a small skirt of mail attached to the latter; but it appears that haubergeons were worn at the period, as, in 1514, the Earl of Kildare gave "to Henry Seys the haberion &

pisayn that was had of M'Cabe, and a basnet that Donylloge had."—*Harl. MS.*, 3756, Mus. Brit. This is but one example of numerous similar gifts. By the pisayn was, probably, meant the camail depending from the basinet.

^b This seems to be a unique example of body

in "brassarts" of plate, each being formed of two pieces coupled together^a, having "coudières," or elbow-pieces, of small size, with "roundels" at the elbow and



No. 46.

shoulder-joints,—in the latter case worn over the camail. The "gauntlets" have been partially broken away, but are restored from portions which remain compared with other examples occurring in the cathedral^b. On the head is worn an acutely pointed "bascinet," with its "visor" thrown back; from the rim of the bascinet depends the "camail" of chain mail, covering the neck and shoulders like a tippet. "Cuissarts," and "jambarts" of plate, each formed, like the brassarts, of front and back pieces coupled together, enclose the legs above and below the knees, which are themselves guarded by "genouillères," from beneath which double plates project above and below, giving additional security. The feet, which rest on a lion, are cased in pointed "solerets" of plate, joined like a lobster's tail. The sword-belt, buckled obliquely across the hips, is attached to the upper part of the scabbard, which, before the monument was mutilated, must have been curiously ornamented, to judge from a small portion of the point still remaining uninjured, and here figured. The sword is



No. 47.

armour, as represented on effigies. In illuminations, we are informed by Mr. Albert Way, it is not uncommon. A similar coat occurs in the Cotton MS. Nero, E. 2. f. 124; and in one instance a skirt of mail hangs from beneath it,

and the figure has a visored bascinet. The MS. is a century earlier than our monument.

^a The armour of the upper arm was called the "rere-brace;" of the lower, the "vambrace."

^b The restorations are marked by dotted lines.

long, straight, and slightly tapering, the pommel round and terminated by a large knob, and the cross-guard curved towards the point of the weapon^a. On the cushion which supports the head are two shields, one (that to the right) bearing the "armys that longith to the Passion;" the other, the armorial insignia of Shortall,—on a cross five lions' heads erased close. The inscription, in raised Old English characters, is cut on the slab at both sides of the effigy.

The name of Scorthals or Schorthals, subsequently softened into Shortall, obviously betrays a Flemish origin, and the founder of the Irish family bearing that cognomen probably came over here, with Fitzstephen or Strongbow, from Wales, the marches of which country had been previously planted with a colony of Flemings, who gave a large contingent to the force raised for the invasion of Ireland. Be this as it may, we find the Shortalls settled in the county of Kilkenny, and on the townland of Ballylarkan, at a very early period. Amongst the records in the Tower of London is a charter by which Theobald de Troja grants in fee to Robert Scorthals, for his homage and service, and paying a chiefry of sixteen marks of silver yearly, the land of Corbally, with three and a half carucates adjoining the bishop's demesne at Hachethur^b. There is no date to the document, but amongst the witnesses are Hugh, Bishop of Ossory, and Thomas Fitz-Anthony, the Seneschal of Leinster in the reigns of John and Henry III. Corbally is an *alias* of Ballylarkan, used as such in documents of as late a date as the seventeenth century; and as Hugh Rufus, Bishop of Ossory, died in 1218, the connexion of the Shortalls with that property is proved to have commenced as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century.

In describing this effigy we have purposely used almost the very words employed by Mr. Boutell, in setting forth "the more prominent characteristics of the style of armour, prevalent [in England] during the latter part of the fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries."—*Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, pp. 48, 49. The Shortall monument, and others to be presently described, prove that the fashions of armour, and of female costume, had for a long period stood still in Ireland, being behind those of the sister island by at least an entire century.

^b Aghethur or Aghur, literally, the field of water, corrupted into Athur, and translated modernly, but incorrectly, Freshford. The castle, which formed anciently the chief residence of the bishops of Ossory, was situate in the demesne of Upper court, adjoining the village of Freshford on one side, and the townland of Ballylarkan on the other; but the property was alienated from the see by Bishop Thonory; and finally, in the time of the Commonwealth, having been granted to Sir George Ayscue, along with Ballylarkan, was never after restored.

Z

Plea Roll, 18
Ed. 1, m. 12.

Rot. Claus., 3
Ed. II., m. 226

Rot. Mem., 13
Ed. II., m. 46.

Clyn's Annals,
sub anno.

Rot. Mem., 6
Ed. III., m. 88.

They threw out some important branches, the principal of which were seated at Claragh, and at Rathardmore, in the county of Kilkenny*, but the "lord of Ballylarkan" was always acknowledged as the head of the house. In 1289, Robert Shertell, knight, was witness to a deed, whereby John Fanin, knight, granted to William de Kitelere the manor of Clomantagh, situated in close contiguity to Ballylarkan. In 1309, John, son of Simon Shorthals, was one of many Kilkenny gentlemen who became security to Richard de Valle and his wife Alice, for the repayment of 200 marks lent to William Utlaw of Kilkenny, as also for the sum of £200, borrowed from the same parties by Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, and others. In 1319, Robert Schorthalls, apparently the same person who previously witnessed the grant of Clomantagh, was sued in the king's court to answer for five sacks of wool, alleged to be due of him to the merchants of the company of the Ricards of Luca, but he appeared on a precept issued by the seneschal of Kilkenny, and proved himself quit of the said debt, and so departed. He did not long survive this lawsuit, for Clyn records the burial of the lord Robert Scorthals in the cemetery of the Friars Minors of Kilkenny, on the 3rd of the Ides of January, 1323: but another Robert Shorthals, probably his son, appears in the public records as Collector of the

* The Claragh branch of the family was seated there at a very early period. In 1326, Robert, son of John Shorthals, of Claragh, gave half a mark for a brief (*Rot. Pat.*, 13 Ed. II., m. 146); they also held, down to the seventeenth century, the townland of Tubridbritain, near Ballylarkan. The ruins of their castles of Claragh and Tubrid still remain and testify of the wealth and power of their ancient owners. "Captain Nicholas Shortall of Claragh," is one of the officers of Colonel Dempsy's regiment praying to be restored to their estates at the time of the passing of the Act of Explanation (*MSS.*, Bermingham Tower, Lib. D). The Rathardmore family was a still more junior branch, and seems to have been an offshoot of the Claragh Shortalls, their property having been situate near that place. Two interesting sepul-

chral monuments of the Shortalls of Rathardmore, of the sixteenth century, remain in the old church of Templemartin, near Kilkenny. Another branch of the Shortalls was settled in the town of Kilkenny, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; engaged in trade. In 1310, Thomas Shortall was one of the portreves of Kilkenny, and in 1330 he filled the office of sovereign. In 1388 and 1390 we have still the name of Thomas Shortall given as portreve; and in 1412, John Shortall was sovereign of the town; whilst in 1431 he was one of the burgesses of Kilkenny to whom King Henry VI granted a special pardon for violating the peace, in consideration of the heavy losses and burdens which they had sustained in resisting the aggressions of the Irish enemy.—(*Rot. Pat.* 10 Hen. VI., m. 10.)

Quindesm^e, in 1332. Amongst the Irish esquires summoned by John Darcy, justiciary, to attend him with arms and horses, on his expedition to Scotland, in 1335, were Gilbert and Geffry Shortall. Whether the former ever returned to his country does not appear, but the latter lived to receive a high honour in the following year, as Clyn tells us that, on Monday, in the feast of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, James le Botiller, Earl of Ormonde, conferred the dignity of knighthood on John de Recheford and Geffry Schorthals, at Roscrea; and in 1339, Sir Geffry Schortals was nominated to collect the debts due to the king by the copartners in the lordship of the Liberty of Kilkenny. This Geffry appears to have been succeeded by a son named Robert, who enjoyed a long life, and filled many public offices in connexion with the county of Kilkenny. We first find him named as Robert Shorthals, knight, amongst the voters at an election of a sheriff for the Liberty, in 1369. In 1405, Robert Shortalls was one of several gentlemen appointed justices of the peace for the county; and in 1410 the same dignity was renewed to him. In 1421 the king committed to him the office of sheriff of Kilkenny, to be held during pleasure, and he appears acting in that capacity to the year 1428. There is a deed, bearing date 10 Henry IV. (1408), preserved in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle, whereby a grant is made by Stephen Pembroke to this gentleman, by the style of "Robert Shorthals, lord of Ballylorcan," of the townland of Ballyrathyn, and other lands. His successor as head of the family would appear to have been another Robert, his son, as in 1432 a commission was granted to Robert Shorthals, late sheriff of the county of Kilkenny, and others, including a Robert Shorthals, Jun., permitting the collection of certain moneys, charged in the Exchequer against the former, during his shrievalty, but which he had shown by petition that he had not been able to get in before his removal by the royal authority from that office. And this brings us to the James Schortals of the monument, who appears to have been the son and successor of the younger Robert. Although he erected his tomb, as the date sufficiently shows, in 1507, he lived for many years after. A deed of the year 1516, dated at Kilkenny the

Rymer, vol. ii., p. 906.

Clyn, sub anno 1336.

Rot. Mem., 12 & 13 Ed. III., m. 39.

Rot. Mem., 42 & 43 Ed. III., m. 8.

Rot. Pat., 7 Hen. IV., 2a pars, m. 141.
Rot. Pat., 11 Hen. IV., m. 85.

Rot. Pat., 9 Hen. V., m. 35.
Rot. Mem., 3, 6, and 7 Hen. VI.

Rot. Mem., 11 Hen. VI., m. 8.

* Quinsieme or Quinzime, a tax raised at the rate of the fifteenth part of a man's goods. The manner of collecting it was by two assessors appointed in every county by the king, who de-

puted others in every hundred to make a true valuation of each person's goods, and then cause the fifteenth part to be levied.—See *Jacob's Law Dictionary*, sub verbo.

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.*

12th February, 8 Henry VIII., confirms to James Shortals, lord of Ballylarkan the possession of three carucates of land in Ballyrathyn, and 40s. rent in Rathcally, payable for forty acres of land, formerly granted by Roger de Pembroke to David Wogan. This deed is executed by David Pembroke, and seems to be a confirmation of the grant made by Stephen Pembroke, in 1408, to Robert, the grandfather of James Shortall. Beside the manors of Ballylarkan and Ballykeeffe, that of Odogh, *alias* Castledough, or Threecastles^a, also came into the possession of the head of the Shortall family at this time; and the vicar of the parish acted there as seneschal for the lord of the manor, in the discharge of which duty he is alleged to have imposed unjust and enormous exactions for his own and the lord's benefit^b, and is, therefore, denounced by the presentment of the jury of the Irishtown of Kilkenny, held in 1537, by virtue of a royal commission issued to inquire into the social state of those parts of Ireland then under the dominion of the English Crown. Indeed, these presentments lean hardly enough on the lord Shortall for his exactions from his tenantry, which charge, however, they make against him in common with the Earl of Ormonde, the feudal lord of the district, and the other landed pro-

^a The castle of Odogh seems to have been one of the most anciently erected of the English strongholds in the county of Kilkenny. On the death of William, Earl Marshall, Jun., in 1231, amongst the castles, his property, ordered by the king to be delivered into the hands of Waleran the German, was that of Odoch. (*Rymer*, vi., p. 199.) In 1359 the manor and castle were the property of David de Stradbolgy, Earl of Athol, and were seized into the king's hands, because that, being situate in the disturbed Irish marches, the owner had failed to garrison and defend them. (*Rot. Claus.*, 33 Ed. III., m. 31.) At the end of the same century we find the manor of Odogh in the possession of another family, that of De la Launde, the king having in 1381 granted the care and custody of the property to Richard Lanynghton, during the minority of the heir of Walter De la Laund, deceased. (*Rot. Pat.*, 5 Ric. II., m. 19.) The earliest men-

tion which we can find of the Shortalls being in possession of the property is in the presentment of the year 1537, above cited.

^b Item.—The said jury present that the vycar of Castell Doughe is a Senciall and Judge, and sesith enormall acts and fashions, that is to saye, if any affraye be made betweene men aboute him where he dwelleith, so that there be bluddshedde, he wille assesse a greyvyou fine or amercement upon the persons that so made the affraye, and the same fyne so assessed he will levye by way of distres, if they have lands or goods in whiche or wherby they maye be dystrayneid, to the use of the lorde of Sertall: and over that he will have 11^d himself of every blodshedde, which he doth his owne self without inquirye of the affraye so made by Inquesta, and taketh also the fyne himself.—*Irishtown Presentment*, State Paper Office, London. Irish Papers, vol. ii., A. D. 1537.

prietors of the county. The presentment of the Corporation of Kilkenny alleges that the lord Shortall not only levied coyne and livery, but used another exaction very grievous to those holding land from him, which was to “ usually sende his horses to the howses of husbandmen, and with every horse one or two horseboyes ; and [they] are founde at the costs of the said husbandmen, and there remaine during their pleasure.” Another act of oppression is, by the presentment of the commons of the town of Kilkenny, laid to the charge of several gentlemen of the district, including “ the lord Sertall:”—“ Item, they do compell their tenauntes and other thinhabitauntes of the countrey to sell their vyttalles, corne, and other thinges whiche they have to selle, to one only person and will not suffer them to sell the same to any other person ;” this favoured trader, it being alleged, paying the lords and their lackeys a sum of money for securing them in the monopoly. Except that he was about seventy years of age in 1534, we can discover nothing more about the member of the Shortall family who erected the monument in the cathedral of St. Canice; but, respecting his successor in the property, who also bore the name of James, there is extant in the legal archives of the country some curious particulars of a family feud, in which he was one of the chief actors. It appears from the muniments of the Exchequer that, at a general session held at Kilkenny, on Monday in the feast of St. Laurence the Martyr, 1583, before Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, and Edmond Butler, of Callan, Esq., Second Justice of the Chief Place, and their brethren, justices of gaol delivery, James Shortall, of Bourdheys, in the county of Kilkenny, gentleman, Walter Rochford, of Cloghcanny, gentleman, and William Grace, of Uncellis Inch, gentleman, came into court in person, and bound themselves by bond to the Queen, in the sum of £100 of silver, Irish money, the condition of such bond being that the said James Shortall, of Bourdheys, should keep the peace towards James Shortall, of Ballylorcan, gentleman. But the quarrel between the parties, however it arose, did not end here, for at a general session of gaol delivery, held at Kilkenny, on Monday next after the feast of the Epiphany, in the year 1589, before Edward Fitzsimon, Esq., Sergeant-at-law, and Richard Bellinge, Esq., it was presented as follows:—

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.*

“ We fynde that James Shortall fitz Peirs, of Bourdsheys, Edmonde Grace, of Cowlisshell, and others, came before her highnes’ Commissioners at Kilkenny, and there did

*Rot. Mem., 32
Eliz., m. 70.*

acknowledge themselves to owe to her highnes a some of money, to observe and performe her highnes' peace to James Shortall, of Ballilorcan; and that the said James Shortall of Bourdsheys, contrarie to her highnes' peace, drew a skyne at the said James of Ballilorcan, and thoughte to thruste hym and put him in daunger of his lief; and beinge not thereof contented, hath hurled stones at the saide James of Ballilorcan, the tenthe of June laste paste, 1589. And therefore Nicholas Walsh, the Second Justice of the Chief Place, and Roger Wilbraham, Solicitor General, justices of gaol delivery at Kilkenny on Thursday next before the feast of St. James the Apostle, in the 32nd of Elizabeth, send and certify the above mentioned recognizance and presentment to the Barons of the Exchequer, in order that execution might be done upon it."

James Shortall, the defendant, appeared in person before the barons, at the Michaelmas term following, and pleaded that James of Ballylorcan had insulted, wounded, and ill-treated him, and also wished to deprive him of his free tenement in Bourdsheys, and he, therefore, was compelled to defend himself; so that if any damage happened to James of Ballylorcan, it was done by the defendant in his own defence. In the margin of the record are the words, "*Replie, ex inimicia sua propria absque tali causa;*" but judgment is not enrolled, and we are left in ignorance as to the result of these proceedings. The next proprietor of the manors of Ballylarcan, Ballykief, and Odogh, was Sir Oliver Shortall, knight, the son of James (who figured in the lawsuit just alluded to) by his wife, Owney Fitzpatrick, who outlived both her husband and son. Oliver appears to have been in possession of the property in 1608, as there is a grant amongst the patent rolls of James I., of the 19th May in that year, of certain lands "held of Oliver Shortall, Esq., as of his manor of Castledough." When he was knighted does not appear, but he died on the 9th of August, 1630, and an inquisition was taken at Gowran on the 14th of April in the following year, which found that Sir Oliver Shortall, knight, of Castledough, Ballylarkan *alias* Corbally, &c., had deceased at the time before stated, leaving a son and heir, James, of full age, and married, whose mother, Lady Ellen Shortall, was still living, with five other children; and his grandmother was also alive, and had a charge of £20 per annum on the manor of Ballylarkan. Sir Oliver's lady was the widow of Nicholas Shortall, of Upper Claragh, who died 14th September, 1600, the daughter of John Butler, of Kilcash, and sister of Walter, eleventh Earl of Ormonde. She appears to have been married a third time to one of the Fitzpatrick family. James, the son of Sir Oliver and the Lady Ellen, died

Rot. Pat. 6
Jac. I., 1a pars
facie III., 8.

Inquis. Temp.,
Car. I., Com.
Kilk., No. 36.

on the 4th March, 1635, leaving a son, Thomas, then aged twenty-eight years, and married. After Cromwell's conquest of Ireland, the property of the Shortalls was declared forfeited, and their ancient manor of Ballylarkan was appropriated to Sir George Ayscue, knight, admiral of the English fleet under the Commonwealth, to whom it was confirmed by a grant under the Act of Settlement, dated 14th October, 1667, notwithstanding that the representative of the ancient proprietors petitioned King Charles II. for restoration to his family patrimony. The memorial is still extant in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, being that of Colonel James Dempsy, and the officers of his regiment, showing that upon laying down their arms in Ireland, they left the country and served under the Prince of Condè, having first offered their services to Charles. On these grounds they prayed (but their prayer was unavailing) for a proviso in the Act of Settlement to restore them to their estates. The next signature to that of Colonel Dempsy is "James Shortall, heir of Oliver Shortall, of Ballylarkan." Whether his claim was that of being the lineal representative of Sir Oliver, who died in 1630, or that he was the grandson of Thomas, living in 1635, by a son named Oliver, we have not been enabled to determine, but the latter appears most likely. The property has since remained alienated from the Shortall family. The castles of Ballylarkan and of Odogh have been utterly destroyed, but portions of the exterior defences of the bawn, with a curious flanking turret, relics of the ancient manorial fortress, still exist at Ballykeeffe.

Inquis., Temp.
Car. I., Com.
Kilk., No. 76.

MSS. Lib. D.,
Birmingham
Tower.

[15.] *Hic facit magr̄ jōhēs moghlande^a quōdā cancellarius oss' ecclīe qui obiit
xix^o die mēsis marcti Anno dñi m^occcc^olxviii^o p' cui⁹ aīa cuilib' dīcētī ptr' or' & aue m'
credut' a reuēdo p're Ollū'o^b epō oss' xl dies īdulg.*

*Quisq's er' q' tñfēr' sta p'lege plora. Sūm qđ er' fuerāq' q' es p' me p'cor ora^c.
jōhēs moghlande de monte.*

^a O'Phelan, by mistake, copied this name *Cuochlande*, and Ledwich and Shee have both so printed it.

^b O'Phelan copied this as *Dauid*, in which he was followed by Ledwich and Shee. The only bishop of Ossory, named David, was Hac-

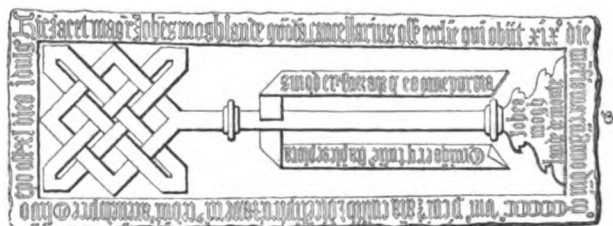
kett, who died long before Moghlande; but Oliver Cantwell was bishop at the time of the placing of the tomb in the cathedral, and the word in the inscription clearly reads *Ollū'o*.

^c This distich, in an English form, is still much used in the grave-yards of Kilkenny.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Master John Moghlande, formerly chancellor of the church of Ossory, who died the xixth day of March, M.CCCC.VIII.; for whose soul any person saying the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary is granted xl days' indulgence by the reverend father Oliver, Bishop of Ossory. Thou who passest by pause, read, and lament. I am what you shall be. I was what you are. Pray for me, I beseech you.

John Moghlande of the mountain.

This is a floor slab, in good preservation, ornamented by a very gracefully interlaced cross, the only example of the kind in the cathedral, and which is



No. 48.

here accurately figured. The inscription is in raised Old English characters, carried round the verge of the tomb. The rhyming distich is cut on the drooping ends of a band which runs across the shaft of the cross in the centre, and hangs down at either side; and the words "Johes Moghlande de monte" are inscribed on the graduated base of the cross, which, as well as the band, is in relief. It appears to have been the custom anciently, with notaries public, to have each a peculiar cross as his private mark. There are many very curious examples of interlaced and floriated crosses, sketched with pen and ink, as the private marks of notaries, existing amongst the records of the see of Ossory in the office of the Diocesan Register, and in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, each notary inscribing his signature on the base of the cross, exactly as on the monument under notice. That the form of cross sculptured on the monument was Moghlande's private mark, as a notary public, appears from two instruments bearing his notarial signature—an interlaced cross, of exactly the same form as that carved on his monument, with his name, "Jo. Mo. de monte," inscribed in an abbreviated form on the base.

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.*

The Moghlandes were a family residing in the town of Kilkenny in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the name appearing occasionally on the bur-gage rolls; but they do not seem to have ever held any municipal office. The

name was anciently written, indifferently, Moghlande, Molghan, and Mohland, and is evidently the same as the modern surname Moylan. Of the history of the member of the family for whom the tomb was placed in the cathedral, beyond what the inscription tells us, we have only been able to ascertain that he was a notary public, and, as such, certified an act of Oliver Cantwell, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1501—styling himself “Johannes Mohland clericus Ossoriensis diocesis, publicus sacris Apostolica et Imperiali auctoritatibus notarius;” he likewise, as John Molghan, notary public, witnessed, with Master William Molghan, vicar of Knocktopher, the will of Sir James Butler, anno 1494 (see p. 190, *infra*). From the words “de monte” following his name we may presume he was a native of the hilly district in the modern baronies of Iverk and Knocktopher, known as the “Walsh Mountains.” The head of the family of Walsh, who was the proprietor of the district, was always described as “Walsh of the mountain,” a title in which his kinsmen took great pride, as would appear from some of the remains of bardic poetry, connected with the district, which have been handed down to our time by oral tradition.

[16.] *Hic jacet Petrus Grant canonicus Oxonie alumnus et vicari⁹ de Ballytarsne qⁱ obiit die xxiii^o mensis Februarii A^o dⁱ m^occcc^oix^o cui⁹ aīē p^opiciet^o deus Amen.*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Canon Peter Grant, a student of Oxford, also vicar of Ballytarsna, who died the 23rd day of the month of February, A. D. M.CCCC.IX.; on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.

This is a floor slab which has been so injured by being constantly walked over, that the inscription, which was carried all round the edge in Old English characters, is almost totally defaced, only an occasional letter being legible. We are, therefore, compelled to give the inscription as we find it published by Ledwich from O’Phelan’s MS., without being able to vouch for more than its general accuracy. The centre of the tomb is occupied by a cross, the arms of which are enclosed in a cusped circle, formed of inverted segments of eight smaller circles, with a fleur-de-lis at each junction. The base is graduated. The cross is similar to that on the tomb of William Hollechan, the weaver, an engraving of which will be found amongst the monuments of the ensuing century.

It would appear from the list of literary worthies of his time supplied by Stanihurst, that it was not unusual for Irish students to frequent the English universities at the period; but the honour of being an alumnus of Oxford must have been deemed one to be not a little proud of, as we find it thus ostentatiously paraded on the monument of Peter Grant. He was a native of the county of Kilkenny, his family appearing to have been settled and to have taken a respectable position, from a period immediately subsequent to the English Invasion, in the district where the ecclesiastical benefice which he held is situated—the barony of Iverk. From an extent of the rents and services of the free tenants of the barony of Overke, taken in the seventh year of King Edward II. (1313), and which was preserved in the Earl of Ormonde's Book of Extents,—a precious manuscript, unfortunately destroyed some years since by an accidental fire,—it appears that David le Graunt then held of the Baron of Iverke, or Overke, one townland and a half in Hillid (Ullid) and Ballytrasnye (Ballytarsna), by suit of court, and 5s. regal service; also a fourth part of a townland in Ballycorry, by 12*d.* rent, without suit of court. At the same time William le Graunt held of the same baron half a carucate of land, with its appurtenances, in Clontory, by half a mark rent, without suit of court; also Kym^choyth, by suit of court, and 20s. regal service. The original grantee of the barony of Iverk was Miles Fitz David, one of the most distinguished of the knights who came over with Fitz Stephen on the invasion of Ireland. From him, or his immediate descendants, the property passed to the Le Poer family, from whose representative, Roger Fitz Milo le Poer, Edmund le Botiller, Earl of Carrick, purchased in the beginning of the fourteenth century the whole lordship of the barony of Iverke in Ossory; the deed of conveyance being dated at Knocktopher, on the Wednesday after the feast of St. Gregory, in the twelfth year of Edward II. (1318). Still, the Le Poers retained possession of the greater portion of the manor of Iverk, and seem to have continued to be looked upon by the ancient tenants as their feudal lords; and thus, when the unfortunate Lord Eustace le Poer joined in Desmond's rebellion, and was taken and hanged at the siege of Castleisland, in Kerry, in the year 1345, amongst the knights who were captured and executed with him was Sir William Graunt, who had followed his fortunes in that rash enterprise. Sir William was attainted for his share in the rebellion, and his property granted to Fulc

Titus. B. 11.,
fol. 76. Mus.
Brit.

*Carte's Or-
monde, Intro-
duction, p.*
xxxii.

*Pembroke, sub
anno.*

*Rot. Pat., 20
Ed. III., m. 105.*

de la Freigne; whilst the forfeited patrimony of the Lord Eustace le Poer was conferred by the crown on the Butler family, and served to strengthen the influence of the Earls of Ormonde in Iverk. Still members both of the families of Le Poer and of Grant continued to hold lands and castles in the barony. In 1365, a jury of the county of Kilkenny was empanelled, on the octave of St. Hilary, to inquire as to the lands which had belonged to John Fitz Robert le Poer, knight, deceased. They found that he had possessed, *inter alia*, the manor of Curlody in Iverk, which had passed into the hands of David Graunt*, and which said David still held. The ruins of the castle of Curlody still exist in the neighbourhood of Ballytarsna. In the beginning of the next century we have the ancestors of the person for whom this monument was placed rendering military service to the Ormonde family, as they had previously done to the Le Poers; for in 1421, we are told, a slaughter was made of the followers of James, the fourth Earl of Ormonde, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, by the sept of O'More, by whom they were attacked near the monastery of Leys (the modern Abbeyleix), where twenty-seven "English were slain, the chief of whom were Purcell and Grant, noblemen." The family continued to possess property in the barony of Iverk, and in contiguity to the parish of Ballytarsna, down to the middle of the seventeenth century; for by an inquisition held at Thomastown on the 16th April, 1626, it was ascertained that David Graunte had lately died seised of the town and lands of Ballynebooly, alias Illundbeg, which he had held from the Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Grenagh. This property his successor forfeited for his connexion with the cause of the Confederate Catholics in 1641, and it was granted, and confirmed under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, to Cornet Robert Howford, a Cromwellian trooper.

Rot. Pat., 32
Ed. III., m. 126.

Rot. Mem., 39
& 40 Ed. III.,
m. 26.

Archdall's
Lodge's Peerage,
vol. iv., p. 12.

Inquis. Com.
Kilk., temp.
Car. I. No. 14.

Grants under
Acts of Settlement
and Explanation, Roll
19 & 20 Car. II.
8th part, face.

* In 1359 David Graunt was one of eleven gentlemen nominated by the Crown to collect, in the Liberty and town of Kilkenny, a subsidy granted in aid of the war against Art Kavanagh. (*Rot. Claus.*, 33 Ed. III., m. 34). Previously, in the year 1335, William and David Graunte were amongst the Irish esquires summoned to attend John Darcy, Justiciary, with arms and

horses to aid the king in his Scottish war. (*Rymer*, vol. ii. p. 906.) The fact that amongst the knights engaged in this expedition to Scotland was Eustace le Poer, whom they looked upon as their feudal chief, may serve in some degree to identify these esquires with the William and David Graunt who at the time held lands by the tenure of military service in the barony of Iverk.

[17.] i Canici kilkentie qui obiit xlvii^a die mēsis Septēbris anno dñi m^occcc^oxii^o cui⁹ aīe propicietur

TRANSLATION:— of St. Canice, Kilkenny, who died the 27th day of the month of September, in the year of our Lord m.ccccc.xii., on whose soul may God have mercy.

A fragment of a floor slab, the remainder of which has been lost or destroyed. It seems to have been erected to commemorate some dignitary of the cathedral, but we are afforded no clue towards ascertaining who he may have been. The inscription, in raised Old English characters, ran round the verge, and the centre of the tomb was filled by a cross in relief, of which only the base and a portion of the shaft are now remaining.

[18.] **IHS.** Hic jacēt Thomas power qⁱ obiit Anno dñi M^o.cccc^o.xix^o. Et Margeria Pynsō uxor eius. Johes power filius et heres dicti Thome cū sua uxo . . . Johāna sawadge q̄ obierūt Anno D . . M^o.cccc^o. quinquagesimo. Ricūs Power eius Johīs filius et heres quondam burgenses ville hibernice kilkentie. qui Ricūs obiit 27 die mensis Maii A^o dñi M^o.cccc^o 83. Et Isabella Roth uxor illi⁹ q̄ obiit [] die mensis [] A^o dñi M^o.cccc^o []

TRANSLATION:—Jesus. Here lie Thomas Power, who died in the year of our Lord m.ccccc.xix., and Margeria Pynson, his wife; also John Power, son and heir of the said Thomas, with his wife Joanna Savadge, who died in the year of our Lord m.ccccc. and fifty; Richard Power, the son and heir of John; formerly burgesses of the Irishtown of Kilkenny; which Richard died the 27th day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1583^b. And Isabella Roth, his wife, who died the [] day of the month of [] in the year of our Lord m.ccccc [].

A floor slab, displaying an interlaced cross in relief, differing very slightly from that on the tomb of Bishop Gafney, which will be found accurately engraved at a subsequent page. The shaft was originally entwined with a profusion of interlaced bands, but these, as well as the base of the cross, were

^a Ledwich printed this xlvii, notwithstanding that O'Phelan copied it correctly. Shee omits all notice of the monument, apparently because of the inscription being imperfect.
^b Shee has printed this date, 1538, reversing the two last figures.

nearly cut away at a period subsequent to the original placing of the monument, for the purpose of making additions to the inscription, in order to record the obits of other members of the family. The combination of Roman and Arabic numerals in the dates is curious, but it is not unusual in monumental inscriptions of the period.

The Powers, or Poores, as the name is more frequently written in the municipal records, were a branch of the important family of Le Poer, of the counties of Kilkenny and Waterford, which settled in the town and engaged in trade at an early period. In 1339 Nicholas Power was one of the two portreves of Kilkenny; in 1394 Adam Power filled the same office; and in 1452 Patrick Power was portreve. The Richard Power of the monument, who seems to have been proud of being a burgess of the Irishtown, we find holding several offices in connexion with that Corporation. In 1552 Richard Poore was one of the four members of the body elected auditors of the burgage accounts for the year. In 1558 he was elected one of the constables of Irishtown. In 1561 he was raised to the dignity of portreve, or chief magistrate of that little borough; and in 1565 we have him taking the appointment of one of the appraisers of meat under the Corporation.

*First Book of
the Corporation
of Irishtown.*

[19.] *Hic Jacet Thomas karroke^a qⁱ obiit xvi die mēs' Julii anno dī m^occcc^oxx^o
Cul^o aīe p'picietur deus Amen.*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Thomas Karroke, who died the 26th day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord m.ccccc.xx; on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.

A floor slab, narrowing slightly towards the bottom; the inscription in raised Old English letters; the centre ornamented by a cross of that form which in heraldry is termed "floré," and it is the only monument in the cathedral which bears the crucial emblem thus depicted. The base of the cross, which is in relief, is graduated of four steps, and the shaft is plain, which is not usual in the tombs of this century, as they generally present an ornament not to be found in the monuments of those preceding it, in the shape of bands,

^a O'Phelan erroneously copied this name *Kar-* ther mistake, followed by Ledwich and Shee, rone, and Ledwich and Shee so printed it. Ano- makes the date *M.ccccc.x*.

which, from the simple form in which they first appear on Moughlande's tomb (No. 15), soon grew into a most marked feature of the device, being enlarged and interlaced to such an extent as to fill up the entire of the lower part of the slab. We can supply no information respecting Thomas Karroke, or his family; the name does not appear in the municipal records of Kilkenny or Irishtown.

[20.] *Hic facit dñs Johes Cantwel qu^o dā p^o sētor istī^o ecclīe q^o obiit xiiii^o die mēs^o nobēbris A^o d^o m^o cccc^o xxxi^o cui^o aīē p^o p^ociēt^o d^o s amē. Milo ep̄s oss^o oīb^o dīcētīb^o or^o onē dīcā & salutacōē āg^o līcā p^o aīā p^o dī p^ontoris totīēs q^o cīēs^o cessit xl dīes īdulgētie.*

Hic Jacet dñs Johes Nele Thesaurari^o istī^o ecclīe q^o obiit [] .

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Master John Cantwel, formerly precentor of this church, who died the 18th day of the month of November, in the year of our Lord m.ccccc.xxxi., on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen. Milo, Bishop of Ossory, has granted forty days' indulgence to any one as often as he shall say the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation for the soul of the said precentor.

Here lies Master John Nele, treasurer of this church, who died [] .

These two inscriptions are cut on a slab ornamented with a cross in relief, bearing a general resemblance to that on the tombs of Peter Grant and William Hollechan, the latter of which will be found accurately figured on a subsequent page. The inscription to the memory of Cantwell is that proper to this monument, which was afterwards appropriated by Nele—a portion of the base of the cross having been cut away in carving the usurping legend. The date of Nele's death was never inserted.

The Cantwell family was amongst the early Norman settlers in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. In the former they were proprietors of the castles of Cantwell's Court, Stroan, and Cloughscregg; and their principal burying-place was at Kilfane church, where a magnificent cross-legged effigy of a knight, bearing the family arms on his shield, still remains*. The head of the Tipperary branch resided at the castle of Moykarky, and their place of interment was Kilcooly abbey, where some interesting monuments, erected to their

* See a paper, by one of the Authors, on "Kilkenny," in *The Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. ii., p. 63.

memory, still remain. Amongst the knights who came over with Strongbow to the conquest of Ireland was Hugh Cantwell. Sir Thomas de Kentewall is one of the witnesses to a charter granted by Theobald Walter, first chief butler of Ireland, to his town of Gowran, in the reign of Richard I., so that we have a member of the family brought into connexion with the county of Kilkenny at a very early period. In 1309 Thomas de Cantewelle was constable of the castle of Offerclan; and in 1317 he was empowered to make a treaty with the O'Brenans and other felons of the Cantred of Odogh—i. e. the territory of Idough in the county of Kilkenny; but in 1319, being worn out with age, he was exempted from attending at assizes. In 1381 Walter Cantwell, living in the marches of Ballygaueran (the barony of Gowran), in front of the Irish enemies M'Morgh and O'Nolan, received a royal license to treat with those native chieftains for the protection of his own property and that of his tenants and dependents. In 1408 the custody of the lands and castles of Robert, son and heir of Walter Cantwell, in Rathcool and Stroan, was granted to Richard and Thomas Cantwell; all his property in the county of Kilkenny, then in the king's hands, having been released to him a few months previously. The representative of the Kilkenny branch of the family, in 1641, was Thomas Cantwell, Esq., of Cantwell's Court, whom the Supreme Council of Confederate Catholics appointed their provost-marshal, a post which the depositions of the Protestant inhabitants allege him to have filled with great cruelty. Be this as it may, he forfeited his property for his connexion with the Rebellion; and the petition of his son, Captain John Cantwell, of Colonel James Dempsey's regiment, to be replaced in his patrimony, at the Restoration, on the ground of his having served abroad under the Prince of Condè, and offered his services to King Charles II. whilst in exile, received no attention. Many of the Cantwells held high offices in the Church besides the precentor of the cathedral, whose tomb is under consideration. In the beginning of the fifteenth century Master John Cantwell was Archdeacon of Ossory, and in 1431 was appointed sub-collector of the papal revenue in Ireland. In 1488 Oliver Cantwell, a Dominican monk, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory, and proved one of the most active and improving prelates who filled the see. James Cantwell was Official of Ossory in the early part of the sixteenth century. The last prior of the Augustinian abbey, and the last abbot of the Dominican con-

Hammer's Chronicle (edit. 1633), p. 137.
Carte's Ormonde, Introduction., p. xviii.

Rot. Pat., 3
Ed. II., m. 228.
Rot. Pat., 11
Ed. II., m. 129.

Rot. Pat., 5
Ric. II., m. 192.

Rot. Pat., 10
Hen. IV., 2^a
pars, m. 87.

Idem, 2^a pars,
m. 48.

Original Depositions of 1641,
F. 2. C. Trin.
Coll. Dubl.

MSS. Bermingham Tower,
Dublin Castle,
Lib. D.

Rot. Pat., 10
Hen. VI., m.
148.



Effigies of Piers, Eighth Earl of Ormonde, and his Countess.

Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co.

of continuous bands of steel overlapping each other like those of the sollerets^a; the sword-belt also, which is jewelled where attached to the scabbard, is here slung over the right shoulder instead of being buckled round the hips. The gauntlets, which are perfect, have the fingers jointed in plate, and protected by raised "gadlings" of steel. Upon the cushion at each side of the head is carved, in low relief, the Ormonde crest, a falcon. The feet rest on a dog. By the side of the Earl lies his Countess, her hands joined in prayer. She is clad in a "supertunic," with sleeves and skirt of ample width, the former gathered into bands at the wrists, from beneath which appear the closely fitting laced sleeves of the "kirtle"^b. The collar of the supertunic is made low, and falls back over the shoulders; the dress is confined at the waist by a girdle, the end of which, richly jewelled and embroidered, depends below the knee; on the head is worn the "horned head-dress," with its richly reticulated "caul" for the hair, over which appears the elaborately embroidered "coverchef"^c depending in folds to the shoulders, and supported at each side by small figures of angels. The inscription is cut in relief on the slabs at the right side of the male, and the left of the female effigy. The year of the Countess's death was never inserted: the sculptor would appear, indeed, to have been interrupted in his work, as the words—ix die Augusti—are merely traced on the stone.

The armour of James, Earl of Ormonde, son to the Earl Piers, who died in London, A. D. 1546 (if we are right in assigning to him the monument represented at p. 136, *supra*), is identical with that worn by his father; the feet rest

^a This seems to have been sometimes termed white harness, or armour. In 1515 it was proposed "that every gentyllman of landes be chargeid to have his horsse and his harnoyse, and his speres, after the maner of Walshe speres and that hit be at his election to ryde in whyt harnoyse, after the maner of England, orelles to ryde in his jakke, with his halbryck [hauberk] and his gorgete, so that he shalle bere his spere in the rest at his pleasur." And again, "that every man of the noble folke be chargeyd to have his horsse and his harnoyse, that is to saye, his jakke, his halbryk, his gorget, his basenet, his swerde, and his spere, redde

allwaye, after the maner of this lande; soo that every horsseman of landes, or of substaunce, have a payre of grayves, and a gauntlet for his lyfte hande."—*State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., pp. 22, 23.

^b A dress of a similar form is represented as worn by a lady, who died about A. D. 1400, and whose brass is in St. Laurence's church, Norwich. —See *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, p. 87.

^c We have here used the words employed by Mr. Boutell to describe the head-dress of Lady Halle, as represented on the brass of her husband and herself, in Herne church, Kent. The date is *circ.* 1420, more than a century before

on a lion, and at each side of the head are carved heater-shaped shields charged with a chief indented. This monument is uninscribed.

Archdall's
Lodge, vol. iv.,
pp. 10, 17.

James, third Earl of Ormonde, had, by his wife, Anne, daughter of John Lord Welles, two sons—James, by whom he was succeeded in the earldom, and Richard (so called after his godfather, King Richard II.), who was afterwards knighted, and settled at Paulstown, in the county of Kilkenny. Richard married Catharine, daughter of Gildas O'Reilly, lord of Cavan, and is best known as the father of the celebrated Sir Edmond *Mac Richard* Butler, who by his wife, Catharine, daughter of Maolrony O'Carrol, *Barbatus*, had, *inter alios*, Sir James Butler, his eldest son. The author of an unpublished pedigree of the House of Ormonde^a thus writes:—

"I haue seene an Act of Parliament past in this Realme in the tyme of King Edw: y^e 4th, whereby all attainders, judgements, and vtларыes, had against y^e s^d James Butler fitz Edmond fitz Richard, were repealed; w^{ch} attainders were produced because y^e said James, & others of his Howse, tooke part with King Henry y^e 6th agst the s^d King Edw: y^e 4th. Note that y^e s^d King Edw: 4: by his Letters Patents, bearing date y^e 11th of Aprill in y^e 8th year of his Raigne, granted vnto y^e s^d James, by the name of James fitz Edmund fitz Richard Butler, (in considera^on of his faithfull service) the mann[?] of Callan, & y^e Aduowson thereof (among other things) for and during y^e naturall lyfe of y^e s^d James, as by y^e s^d Letters Patents remayneing among the s^d Earle of Ormond's Euidences may appeare. It appears, by an old booke remayneing in y^e Towne of Carrick M'Griffin, in y^e County & Liberty of Tipperary, with y^e Portrefe & Burgesses of that Toune; that the s^d John Buttlr, late Earle of Ormond & Wiltshire by his deede bearing date y^e 12th of October in anno 1472^b, & in y^e 12^o yeare of y^e s^d King Edw: y^e 4th, did constitute & appoynt the sayd James Butler, . . . (being his kinesman) to be his Attorney & Deputy to deale in all causes concerning y^e s^d Earle & his lands, lordships, and jurisdictions, in y^e Realme of Ireland; w^{ch}

the period of the Countess of Ormonde's death. See *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, pp. 62, 63.

^a This pedigree, which remains in MS. in the possession of the Earl of Bessborough, is headed "The Pedegree of the most Noble House of Ormond, by Richard Lawless, of Kilkenny, Gentl.:" it displays much knowledge of original documents, and from internal evidence must have been compiled early in the reign of James I. See more about the Lawless family in the notice of their monument. The volume also contains a

transcript of a Treatise on Philosophy, printed at Paris A. D. 1651; "Mr. Thomas Russell's Relation of the Fitz Gerald's of Ireland, written in the county of Clare, 22^o die Octobris, A. D. 1638;" "The Pedegree of the Geraldines of Desmond;" and "The Pedegree of the Fitz Gerald's of Dromany," in which occurs the date 1688. The MS. is of the last date.

^b The date has been changed, in a later hand, to 1477; but this does not agree with the regnal year given by Lawless.

Commission was by him vsed & executed accordingly. And y^e s^d James by vertue of that Commission, layd downe certain Orders for Reformation & good Goverment of y^e s^d Toune of Carrick. The sayd James Butler fitz Edmund (as y^e sayd Thomas Fyan^a doth write) was author of peace in his time, & was well beloued in his Country, his power and fortune was greate, and he had many victoryes vpon his enemyes. Hee built y^e castle of Neghom neere Gawran; and dyed y^e 16^o of Aprill A^o 1487; & is buried in y^e Fryery of Callan, which himself had founded. The said James was marryed to Sawe Keuenagh, daughter of M^e Murroghowe y^e chief of his name^b, by whom he had issue S^r Piers Butler, knight.”

Master Richard Lawless has, in this passage, unquestionably told the truth, yet there is a secret history connected with the marriage of Sir James Butler with the daughter of Mac Murrough, unnoticed in the Ormonde pedigrees, but revealed by the original documents, still in possession of the family. Carte has already placed on record the tenor of the royal letter of denization, freeing Sabina Kavanagh from all Irish servitude, and granting to her all the privileges of English law; but it is not generally known that Sabh, or Sabina, as the name is Latinized in old documents, and Sir James, were of kin sufficiently near, according to the canon law, to bar their marriage^c, unless dispensed with by

Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. i., Introduction, p. xlv.

^a Fyan was a clergyman of the diocese of Ossery, and a notary public.

^b This was Donnell Reagh (fuscus) twelfth in succession from Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, who succeeded in 1431 to the captaincy of his nation. The present Arthur Kavanagh, of Borris, Esq., descends from Art Oge, tenth in succession, who died in 1417. See Table of Descent from Dermot Mac Murrough.—*Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Arch. Soc.*, vol. i., p. 120, new series.

^c None of the pedigrees that we have seen give any clue to this relationship. The particular degree of consanguinity is set forth in the following document issued from the Papal Penitentiary, at the request of Sir Piers Butler, A. D. 1517, of which the original, wanting only the seal, is still preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle:—

“Leonardus, miseracione diuina &c., sancte Susanne p^br Cardinalis Discreto Viro Officiali Osseren' salt' in dño. Oblate nobis nuper pro parte dilecti nobis in x^po Petri Boutiller, laici Osseren' dioc', petitionis series continebat qđ licet postq̄ quondam Jacobus boutiller et Sabina Kewanach, ipi^us exponentis parentes, nō ignorantēs se *Secundo et Tertio ac Quarto simplici Affinitatis gradibus inuicem fore cōiunctos uel se attinere*, matrimonium inter se per uerba de pnti cōtraxerant illudq̄ carnali copula consumauerant, et prolem procreauerant; aplicas tunc E^po Osseren' per quas ipōs ab ex^cōis snia quā propterea incurrerant absolui, secumq̄ ut matrimonium inter se de nouo contraherent, et in eo, postq̄ contractum foret, remanere ualerent, dispensare certa tunc expressa forma mandabatur, iras obtinuerint; Irēq̄ hñoi executioni fuerint demandate. Quia tamē de executione hñoi solum per testium attestaciones cōstat, ab aliqui-

the Pope; and that Sir James brought home his affianced bride, who had borne him two sons, Edmund and Theobald, before the dispensation was procured. The notarial instrument which proves these facts tells us that, when all legal impediments were removed, Sir James rode from Knocktopher castle to the parish church of Listerlin, nearly half way toward the Cavanaghs' country, accompanied by a train of his friends and retainers; and that, when the marriage was there formally solemnized in the face of the Church before a large assemblage of the clergy and gentry of Kilkenny and Wexford, the previously born, and, by the common law, illegitimate infant children were placed with their parents beneath the stole* of Henry de Londres, vicar of Knocktopher, the officiating priest. It is probable that the marriage took place in the year 1467, for the letter of denization is dated the 10th of May, 7th Edward IV., but the affiancing must be placed several years earlier. By an Act of the Parliament holden in that year, all attainders, judgments, or outlawries for treason, had against James fitz Edmond, fitz Richard Botiller, were repealed; and it was further enacted, that as, after affiancing and before matrimony, the said James had issue, by "Saub" Cavanagh, Edmond and Theobald, who by law of the Church were *muliers* in virtue of subsequent matrimony, they should be adjudged *muliers* accordingly, and made capable of inheriting as if born in wedlock. This Act of Parliament serves to fix, approximately, the date of the birth of Piers, the

*Unpublished
Statute, 7
Ed. IV., c. 28.*

bus simplicibus et iuris ignaris ac ipius exponētis forsā emulis, asseritur fr̄as predictas suo carere effectu, ac de absoluteione et dispensatione h̄m̄oi hesitatur. Ad ora igitur talium et alior' superhiis obloqui volentium emulor' obstruenda, supplicari fecit hūiliter dictus exponens sibi super hiis per sedem ap̄licam de oportuno remedio nūc provideri. Nos igitur Aucte dñi p̄pe cuius p̄narie curam gerimus, Discretioni tue cōmittimus, q̄tus, si vocatis vocandis tibi constiterit, de assertis declares fr̄as predictas suum sortitum fuisse effectum, ac de absoluteione et dispensatione aliisq̄ in dictis fr̄is contentis a quibusuis nullatenus hesitari posse nec debere, sed plenum firmitatis robur obtinere in omnibus et per omnia perinde ac si de executione h̄m̄oi per

processum et als auctenticas scripturas in similibus fieri solitas plene et legitime constaret. Dat' Rome apud Sctm̄ Petrum sub sigillo officii p̄narie iii Non' Julii Pont' Dñi Leonis p̄pe x. Anno Quarto."

In a pedigree preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, Jane, sister to Sir James Butler, is stated to have been married to "Murrough Ballogh, called Mac Murrough, or King of Leinster." The "Four Masters" (vol. iv., p. 981), hint that Sir James' great-grandmother had issue by a Mac Murrough as her second husband; the daughter of the latter being called the "[step] sister" of the Earl of Ormonde.

* "Sub Pallio" are the words of the document, but priests did not wear the pall.

eldest child of his parents born in wedlock, as being shortly subsequent to, if not in the year 1467, as it is not likely that it would be sought for after his birth. Piers must have been at or near man's estate, when his father died in 1487, for he was left heir and sole executor to the property, and named in the will as successor to his father in the authority conferred on the latter by John Earl of Ormonde, when setting out for the Holy Land in 1477, and continued in it by that Earl's brother and heir, Thomas, who succeeded to the title in 1478. Piers would have been scarcely competent for this important trust before the age of twenty, and to have attained it, his birth must be assigned to the latter end of the year 1467. It is true, he may have been born a few years previously, and the Act was possibly intended to provide for the casualty of his death, but as his father, in after years, notwithstanding the Act in question, evidently considered him his eldest *legitimate* son, it is not probable that *after* his birth he would have procured the passing of a Statute which would have had the effect of depriving Piers of his birthright. Sir James Butler died in the castle of Knocktopher, and there made his will, as follows:—

Carte's *Ormonde*, Introduction, pp. xlii., xliv.

“In the name of God. Amen. I, Sir James Butler, chief captain of my nation, legitimate son and heir of Edmund Butler, lately deceased, being sick in body, but of sound mind, before the witnesses here present do make my will in this form. *Imprimis*. I leave my soul to Almighty God, and the Blessed Mary his Mother, and to all the Saints, and my body to be buried in the monastery of the Augustine Friars of Callan; and I will that all my moveable goods be distributed according to my pleasure, and the pleasure of my executor; and I make and appoint Piers Butler, my natural and legitimate son, my true heir and executor, and I leave him my horse and jupon, to pay from said horse to my creditors, whose goods and chattels I unjustly detained, twenty cows as satisfaction at their pleasure, and from the jupon six cows. *Item*. I give and grant to him the custody and defence of the lands of my Lord the Earl of Ormonde, as it was given to, and possessed by me. *Item*. I give and leave to the said Peter the particle of the true Cross, and the shield of St. Michael, and all the other holy relics of the Saints, all my precious stones and rings, together with my beads; likewise all the jewels which belong to me of hereditary right”^a.

It is not probable that Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, confirmed to Piers Butler

^a The original notarial instrument, which recites this will and the facts above mentioned, is still preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle. It is written on vellum, and, were it not for its great prolixity and diffuseness, would be well worthy of insertion here; for the sake of brevity, however, we are constrained to be content with the following abstract of it:—

the authority over his Irish estates thus *more Hibernico* bequeathed to him, for all our chroniclers, though differing as to dates, agree in representing James, the

The instrument testifies that on July 3, 1507, according to the computation of the churches of England and Ireland, Sir Piers Butler exhibited before Patrick Strong, clerk of the diocese of Waterford, and notary, in the house of William White, Mayor of Waterford, three several instruments to the following effect, and prayed that they might be reduced to writing, and published, viz. :—

I. An instrument of Oliver, Bishop of Ossory, testifying that on January 6, 1501, the noble and right puissant man, Sir Piers Butler, son of James Butler, produced before him certain witnesses to prove his legitimacy, and stop the mouths of those who impugned it, and demanded that those who asserted the contrary should be cited to appear at a certain day and place, to give testimony on their own behalf also. In compliance with which just demand were cited the noble gentlemen, Theobald, son of Edmund, and Richard, son of Theobald le Butler, who pretended to an interest in the matter, and all others whom it might concern, to appear on the 12th of the said month of January, in the cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. On which day the parties aforesaid appeared; and the 18th of the same month was fixed for the purpose of exhibiting and proving certain articles relative to the matter, in the parish church of St. Mary, Rosbercon. The articles were as follows:—1. That Sabina Cavanagh was related to the noble gentleman, James Butler fitz Edmund, in a certain degree (*certo gradu*) of consanguinity. 2. That the said James, this obstacle notwithstanding, brought home (*traduxit*) the said Sabina, and begat issue of her, to wit, Edmund and Theobald. 3. That in process of time a dispensation from the Apostolic See enabled the said Sabina and James to be united in lawful marriage. 4. That the said

marriage was publicly solemnized in the face of the Church. 5. That after the said dispensation and marriage Piers and John Butler were born of the said James and Sabina. To prove these articles the following witnesses were produced by Sir Piers Butler, viz., Evlina, Abbess of Kilkilleheen in the diocese of Ossory, of the order of St. Augustine, who testified to the truth of all the articles. She had seen the dispensation, knew of the impediment, and was present when the marriage was celebrated in the parish church of Listerlin, in the diocese of Ossory, by Master Henry de Londres, vicar of Knocktopher; also, she saw the said Edmund and Theobald placed beneath the stole of the officiating priest, along with their parents, the said James and Sabina, when the marriage was solemnized; likewise she knew Piers and John to have been born afterwards. Master Edmund O'Coman, vicar of Rosbercon, gave like testimony. William Sutton, gentleman, of the county of Wexford, testified that the impediment was notorious, as was also the bringing home (*traductio*), and begetting of Edmund and Theobald; that he, the said deponent, rode with James Butler from the town of Knocktopher to Listerlin, was present at the celebration of the marriage, and saw Edmund and Theobald placed under the stole along with their parents during the celebration of mass; he also swore that Piers and John were afterwards born. Daniel Sutton gave like testimony, as did also Oliver Grace and John fforstall; the last also said, that he had seen "the hauling home" (*traductionem*). Peter "Rufus" O'Dergin gave like testimony, as did also Robert ffrēn, and Elycya Butler. Edmund fforster gave like testimony, and added that, when the said James and Sabina first wished to obtain the dispensation, they sent the rector of Beaulé to the Apo-

illegitimate son of James, fifth Earl of Ormonde, as the head *de facto* of the Butlers in Ireland; insomuch that he is by some authorities (utterly ignoring his

tolitic See to obtain it, who failed in so doing, yet he, the said deponent, had afterwards seen the dispensation, and believed that Master John Hedyan had procured it. Walter Baroun gave like testimony. Master John Laffan, "in decretis Baccalaureus," bore like testimony, and deposed that he saw Donnell "fuscus" Cavanagh, father of the said Sabina, sending certain priests to the Apostolic See for the dispensation, who, as it was said, failed; whereupon a second time it was sent for, but before it arrived Theobald and Edmund were born. Sabina Cavanagh herself confirmed all the former depositions, and testified to the truth of the articles from her own knowledge. Margaret, the daughter of Edmund, David Dervill, brother Nicholas Boshier a professed canon of Innistiogue, Master Dermot O'Clery, vicar of Callan, and Donatus "fuscus," O'Clery gave like testimony. When, the said Theobald and Richard contumaciously absenting themselves, and Sir Piers Butler appearing by his proctor, at his desire the said witnesses' testimony was reduced to writing and published in the cathedral church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, on March 18th next following, in presence of the venerable and discreet men, Master Edmund Quemerford, Dean of Ossory, and Nicholas White, Dean of Waterford, Brother Thomas Lathy, Prior of Kells, Master William, vicar of Knocktopher, John Butler, and others, laymen and clerks, by John Mohland, clerk of Ossory, and notary public.

II. An instrument of Walter, Archbishop of Dublin, testifying that Sir Piers Butler appeared before him at his metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Ossory, in the cathedral church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, and exhibited to him a parchment schedule containing a petition, to the effect that whereas James, his father, had

left him not only his executor, but also heir of all his goods, moveable and immoveable, and because divers persons impugned the truth of this, and said that others should have inherited the same, he had caused the will of his said father to be proved by Oliver, Bishop of Ossory, and now wished that the Archbishop should further authenticate the said will, the said Archbishop, in the parish church of Gowran, in the diocese of Ossory, on August 8, 1502, all due formalities having been gone through, granted his request. Which will was written on a paper schedule, but properly and formally, in these words:—"IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Ego Magister Jacobus Butler Capitaneus principalis mee nacionis, filius legitimus et heres Edmundi Butler, nuper defuncti, licet eger corpore, sanus tamen mente, coram testibus hic astantibus condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis aiā meam omnipotenti deo, et beate marie virgini matri eius, ac omnibus sanctis lego, corpusq̄ meū fore sepeliend' in Monasterio fratrum August' Kalanie: omnia vero mea mobilia bona distribuenda fore scdm̄ meam meiq̄ executoris voluntatē. Item facio et constituo Petrum Butler, filium meū naturalē et legitimū, meū ver' heredem ac executorem, ac sibi equū meū et jupam lego et do, reddendo tamen creditoribus meis ex eodem equo, quor' bona iniuste habui, viginti vaccas, aut satisfactionem scdm̄ eor' voluntatem, et ex jupa sex vaccas. Item do et condo sibi custodiam et defencōem terrar' dñi mei Comit' Ormonie, prout m' dabatur et habeo. Item do et lego eidem Petro Particulam de Sancta Cruce, ac Scutum S̄ci Michaelis, omnesq̄ alias S̄cōr' Reliquias, omnesq̄ preciosos lapides meos et anulos cum oraculis meis, omniaq̄ eciam Jocalia que jure hereditat' ad me ptinebant, &c. And witnesses having been produced to prove the said will, they were exa-

The Chronicles of Ireland,
p. 83.

Lawless's Pedegree of the House of Ormonde.

Carte's Ormonde, Introduction, p. xli.

absentee uncle, the Earl Thomas) even called Earl of Ormonde, into which honour, says Stanihurst, "a bastard Butler had by abatement intruded." The Book of Howth^a also, an older and better authority than Stanihurst, styles him the "eirle of Wormon." He was left under the protection of Thomas, the seventh Earl, his father's brother^b, and was brought up at the court of England, where he "grewe to bee expert in all feates of armes," and won the favour of Henry VII. In 1487 he did good service against the Geraldines, who sided with Lambert Simnel, for which he was knighted by the King. This Sir James Ormonde, commonly called "the black," was a valiant, but quarrelsome man^c,

mined, and testified as follows, viz.:—Brother Donat O'Maly, Prior of the Augustan Friary of Callan, testified that he, with the other witnesses undernamed, was present in the Castle of Knocktopher when the said James Butler was dying, who made his will and disposed of his goods as in the said schedule was contained, de verbo in verbum; Brother William Barred, monk of the said Fryary, Master William Molghan, vicar of Knocktopher, Master John Horsman, chaplain, John Molghan, notary public, Evlina fforstall, and her son Edmund fforstall, James, son of Richard fforstall, and John O'Readde, all deposed that, along with said Donat O'Maly, they were present when the said will was made, as contained in the said schedule. Which testimony, having been reduced to writing, was published and authenticated in the presence of Richard, Baron of Burnchurch, Patrick Sleger, alias de Sancto Leodegario, chief of his nacion, and John Bowland, vicar of Burnchurch. There is also set forth an instrument of Oliver, Bishop of Ossory, granting to Piers Butler the administration of the goods of his father James, whose heir and executor the said Piers was, dated the [blank] day of [blank] 1495.

III. An instrument whereby William ffyan, clerk of Cashel, and notary public, attests and confirms the foregoing second instrument, as having been present, and having reduced the

said matters to writing, and published them.

Which three instruments were reduced to writing, and published in the presence of William White, mayor of Waterford, James Sherloke, bailiff of the same, and William Morese, canon of the church of Ossory, under the notarial certificate and signature of Patrick Strong. The instrument bears the usual notarial mark, an interlaced cross, with the signature "Patrius de ffortis" on the base.

^a This MS., which is now in the Carew collection, Lambeth Library, vol. 623, is on vellum. We are assured by a competent authority that the "Discourse of the variance betwene the Erles of Kildare and Ormond," is written by one who learned to write and spell in the time of Henry VIII.; although the dates supplied by the latter portion of the "Discourse" prove it to have been written in the reign of Elizabeth.

^b Lawless says he was left in care of Thomas, by his brother John, the fourth Earl, who died "in pilgrimage to y^e Holy Land, having noe issue but a base son, called James Butler, otherwise called y^e Black James, who dyed without issue." Other writers have fallen into the same error. Carte rightly makes him the son of *James*, the fifth Earl.

^c The Book of Howth contains a quaint illustration of this trait in the character of the bastard Butler. After relating that Sir

ambitious, and noted for expertness with "his weapon." Against so formidable an opponent, Piers Butler, no doubt, found it difficult to make head; and, in casting about for aid, he would naturally turn to Sir James's deadliest enemy, Kildare. The opportunity which thus presented itself, of setting the Butlers against each other, was seized on with avidity by the head of the Geraldines, and, in the words of the Book of Howth—

"Gerot, eirle of Kildare, about the yere of ou^r L. 1485, beinge at wariens w^t James Butler, eirle of Wormone, & y^e reste of y^e Butlers, maried his sister [daughter] called lady Margeret to one Persse Butler for polissye. This Persse was in wariens with the sayd James, & was mayntened by the eirle of Kildare, by mene wher of this sayd James could not well attend to were [war] w^t the eirle of Kildare, nor so much harme doe as he was acostomed to doe: befor which tyme they so contendit that whē so eu^r any of them gadred ther pouer apō a sodayne, the other coulde not with stād that. . . . And nowe sens the mariage the eirle of Kildare made with Perce Butteler, & mayntened him, the eirle of Wormōd was kept short, so that by that mens & polissy the eirle of Wormond was so occupied in his owne cōtry he could not attend to do any damage to the eirle of Kildare, nor any of his frends."

A Discourse of the Variance betweene the Erles of Kildare and Ormond.

At this time Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, was Deputy to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Jasper, Duke of Bedford. He was the father, not the brother, of the wife of Piers Butler; but it is likely that her brother Gerald, afterwards the ninth Earl, was instrumental in bringing about the match. To the favour of the Lord Deputy, his son-in-law probably owed his knighthood,

Harris's Ware, vol. ii., p. 108.

James (there called the "eirle of Wormond") had come towards Dublin with "the Obrens & other his frends in the southe," and "at Killester by Dublinge, beinge at diner w^t S^r Nicolas L. of Howth" had boasted that "yf any man in the Inglishe pale wold stand in defens of the eirle of Kildare he wolde even nowe fight w^t him in y^t quorrell. Well, sayd S^r Nicolas, ther is fyue C. in the Inglishe pale that wold stand in that quorrell agaynst you^r L[']shipe, ther duty always to ou^r prince p[']served. Well, sayd the eirle, dorst you hassart the battayll betwen you & me to trey the cause, be gods blode yf yow dorst, I could fynd in my hart to throust this knif throw

yow. Well, sayd S^r Nicolas, pot upe your kneyyfe & heyre me pattiently; I swer by our lady of the northe church of Houth, that butler, nor windrawer, nor tapster is not in Ierland, but I dourste stand to defend this querrell, & yf your lordshepe be so stomaked, & wold eysee yowr hart, lett us bothe take a botte, & gooe to yonder Ilande of Clone tarf, ther to eysse both yowr stomake & myne, for o^r companis her ar not indifferant. Well, sayd the eirle, S^r Nicolas, thy stoute & bullishe nature shall end thy dayes before thy naturall age. So aft^r diner departed in great fury."—*A Discourse of the Variance betweene the Erles of Kildare and Ormond.*

as we shortly after find him termed Sir Piers Butler. An undated letter, addressed by Kildare to Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, the original of which is preserved in the Tower of London, must probably be assigned to this period. We give it here, as it confirms the narrative quoted in a note to p. 190, *supra*, from the Book of Howth^a. It was evidently written by Kildare in his official character as Deputy:—

“ My Right Wurshipful Cousyn,

“ I recommaund me unto you. It iss that your cousyn James Ormond doth publysh in all places that he hath your interest and title in all your Lands here, by reason whereof he hath brought into the Counties of Kilkenny & Tipperary the Obrenes^b with diverse others, Irishe enemys, and theretwo destroyed the kyngs subjettis, and spareth no churches ne religious places, but hath spoyled them. And because he groundeth hym on the kyngs auctoritie and your likewise, I suffre hym thereyn so to do for fere of the kyngs displees. And what your mynd and enterest is, or shalbe, in this matier, yif it like you to certifie me thereof, I will do what I kan for the reformation of the same. Yeuen under my signet at Kilmaynam, the 16th day of Jan^r.

“ Your Cousyn,

“ Gerald Erle of Kyldare.

“ To my Right Worshipful Cousyn,
Thomas, Erle of Ormond.”

What was the Earl of Ormonde's reply does not appear, but it is probable that Sir James Ormonde's assertion was borne out by the fact, as a deputation exists, by which the former appoints his “nephew,” Sir James Ormonde, his general and special attorney in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, giving him the government and custody of all his castles, lordships, manors, &c., during his absence from Ireland, with as full power and authority as if he, the said Earl, was personally present, and commanding, as well by his own authority as by that of the king's majesty, that all his relatives, bailiffs, constables, servants, &c., should aid, assist, and obey the said Sir James as fully as they were bound to do to the Earl himself, were he present amongst them. Thus, doubly fortified

^a This letter is here printed from a transcript made by Lynch, the author of the “Feudal Baronies of Ireland,” on whose authority its place of custody is assigned. We are indebted for the use of Lynch's MSS. to the late James

Frederick Ferguson, Esq., of the Exchequer Record Office, Dublin.

^b Dr. O'Donovan states that the O'Briens attempted to make Sir James Ormonde chief of the Butlers.—*Four Masters*, vol. iv., p. 1240.

by the deputed authority^a of the Earl of Ormonde and the Crown, there can be little doubt that the Black Bastard would press hardly on Sir Piers Butler and his adherents. That he did so, we have evidence in a letter addressed to Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, by Sir Piers himself, which tells its tale so graphically, that we are tempted to lay it before the reader in full:—

“ Right Honorable and myn especiall gode Lorde,

“ I recōmend me in my moost herty wise unto yo^r Lordship, certifying the same, that where I trusted to S^r James Ormond, by his life daies, as moch as I wold have don to eny kynnesman of myn lywing, so it is that he, w^out eny cause or occasion on my syde, kept from me al myn owne landes and dueties^b, and ov^r this toke and kept me in prison by a long season, contrarie to his othe and pmyse made upon the holy crosse and other grete relickes, upon suerte whereof I then came to hym; and yit he nev^r put me at lib^tie tyll my Lord of Desmond, by his great instant labo^r had go^ten me to my lib^tie, whose desyre he fulfilled upon trust that he shold have married oone of the said Erles daughters. And after that, when the said Sir James understode that I resorted unto

^a We give this deputation, as copied by Lynch from the Patent Roll, 19 Hen. VIII., in the Tower of London:—

“ Omnibus &c. Thomas Comes Ormond salutem &c. Sciatis q̄d ego p^rdictus comes ordino t̄ constituo p̄ presentes predi^ctm michi Jacobū Ormond nepotem meū deputatū supvisorem ac gen^ralē t̄ spalem attorn^r meū de t̄ in com^r de Kilkenn^r t̄ Tipperary in Hibū cū om̄ibus t̄ singulis suis p^rtin^r, ac eidem nepoti meo officium illud p̄ p^resentes do t̄ concedo hend^r &c. p̄ se vel p̄ sufficient^r deputatū suū siue sufficientes deputatos suos, p̄ quo aut p̄ quibus idem Jacob⁹ respondere volu^rit &c. Et ulterius ego p^rdictus comes do t̄ concedo p̄ presentes p^rfato Jacobo Ormond custodiā ac gubernacōem oim̄ t̄ singulor^r castror^r, domor^r, mansior^r, villar^r &c., et ten^r ac lib^ror^r tenent^r t̄ alior^r tenent^r meor^r de et in Com^r p^rdict^r cū oib⁹ t̄ eor^r singlis p^rtin^r hend^r t̄ tenend^r p^rfato Jacobo &c. q̄ndiu me a t̄ra Hibū p^rdict^r absent^r fore contig^rit, reseruand^r mihi p^rfat^r comiti p̄inde annuatim, durant^r absentia mea p^rdict^r, talia reddit^r, rev^rsion^r

& p̄fic, que ego p^rfat^r comes ante dat^r presentiu hui aut p̄cipi, p̄cipiend^r annuatim p̄ s^rvient^r t̄ ministros meos p̄prios. Ulterius dans t̄ concedens p̄ p^rsent^r eidem Jacobo durant^r absentia mea in oib⁹ et singlis p^rmissis adeo plenā potestatem t̄ auctoritatem, put herem si ibm̄ p^rsonaliter interesse. Et ulterius ego p^rfatus comes tam ex p^rte metuendissimi ac illustrissimi principis Henrici regis Anglie q̄m ex p^rte mea om̄ib⁹ t̄ singulis consanguineis meis ac batt^r, constabular^r, p^rposit^r ministris et t̄rar^r tenent^r resident^r meis infra Com^r p^rdict^r, firmiter injungendo p̄ presentes, mando q̄d ip̄i t̄ eor^r quif^r, p̄fato Jacobo in om̄ib⁹ &c. attendent defendent assistent t̄ auxiliant in absentia mea, put facerent, seu eor^r aliquis fac^ret, in premissis mihi p̄fato comiti si ibm̄ personaliter interesse. In cujus rei &c.”

Lynch's transcript is without date, but we cannot be far astray in assigning the document to the period referred to in the text.

^b Probably contributions paid by Irishmen. The Earl of Kildare had his “ Duties upon Irishmen.”—*Harleian MS.*, 3756, Mus. Brit.

my Lord of Kyldare, depute lieutenānt unto our Sow^layn Lord the Kyng of this his land of Irland, for the true affeccion and s^lvice that I owe and bare unto his highnes, and the rather because he hath been gude and graciouse sov^layn Lord unto his said depute; the same S^r James, not pondering his saide othe and p^mise, shewed openly, that whersoever he myght fynd me he wold kill me: and ov^r this toke godes and catell from such as he knewe were towards me, as ferfurth as he myght, to their great hurt and impov^lysching, and to the utt^r undoing of some of them for ev^r, and besides this, toke upon him all the rule wⁱn the counties of Kylkenny and Tippare, and called himself Erle of Ormond. After which tyme it liked our said sov^lain Lord to cōmand him by his secunde l^res, as he did by his first, to come unto his graciouse p^resence, wh^{ch} l^res the same S^r James utterly disobeied in ev^ly poynt. Whereupon Dublyn pursevant unto our said sov^lain Lord published the same S^r James his disobeissaunt subget. *And aft^r the which it fortunēd me sodenly in the open field, not ferr from Kylkenny, to mete w^t hym, and so by the grace of God, which wold that ev^ly ill dede shold be punyshed, the same S^r James, and I, otherwhiles remembering his said othe and thretenyng and agaynewards his disobedience to the kyngs said l^res and cōmandments, rēcountred and fought togeders so long till God had wrought his will upon hym. And nowe sith he is thus dede, and was great and auncient Rebell by his life daies unto our said sov^lain Lord, and, upon his comfort and speciall desire moved, caused Perkyn Warbeck to come lately unto this land, for the destruccion of the subietts and possessions here of our sov^lain Lord, like as his highnes shall understand wⁱn brief tyme, by the report of such as were prive unto the counsaill of the said Perkyn—wherfor it may like yo^r lordship, having tender respect to the p^rmiss^l, and that I am a pore kynnesman of yours, to graunte unto me, by yo^r writing and seall auctentique, the ferme of all such landes and duties as yo^r Lordship hath, and shall growe due unto you, wⁱn the Counties of Kilkenny and Tippare; and I shall se you better contented therfor, then ye have been thies many yeres past, and ov^l this, cause the same to enhabited and occupied in the best and availablest man^r that I kan think or devise. And forsomuch as I woll that yo^r Lordship should understand howe well I shall behave me in the p^rmyss^l for your pleasure and advauntage, therfor I desire to have the seid ferme of yo^r Lordship but during your pleas^r. And like as I shall demeane me theryn, so I truste to fynde you my gode Lord for yo^r largier graunt in the p^rmiss^l. And thus the holy Trinite have you in his keping. Written at Kylkenny the vii. day of September.*

“ Your lowly s^lvaunt,
“ Pers Botiller.”

“ To the Right honorable and myn especiall good Lord,
Thomas Erle of Ormond, Chamb^layn with the Queenes good grace.”

Thus Sir Piers Butler relates the tragical event which was the turning-point of his life. We must not judge the deed by the rules of a more enlightened

age. Although it is impossible wholly to exculpate the slayer from blood-guiltiness, or even to allow his plea that he must either slay or be slain, yet it must not be forgotten that, at the time, an appeal to arms was counted an appeal to the God of battles; and that Sir Piers' contemporaries, and even his opponents, believed that "God had wrought his will" upon the "base Butler," when he fell in the combat with Sir Piers, there can be little doubt. The letter, as will have been perceived, is deficient in the date of the year, but there are not wanting strong points of internal evidence, which warrant our assuming it to have been written on the 7th of September, 1497^a. The strongest of these presumptions is the statement, that the examination of those concerned in Perkin Warbeck's final attempt in Ireland^b, described as having "lately" occurred, *had not yet taken place*, thus fixing the date of the letter immediately after that event. Let us now see if we can find any confirmation of this view from external sources. The Book of Howth relates that "the eirle of Wormon another tyme came after w^t the Obrens t̄ other his frends in the southe towards Dublinge, & campte a while at the wode of Saynt Thomas Court, & so came to Dublinge to se his frends," and "destroyed to y^e uttermoste of his pouer" the adherents of Kildare. This probably took place some time during the two years' imprisonment which Kildare endured in the Tower of London, before his unexpected acquittal by Henry VII., and triumphant return as Chief Governor of Ireland in 1496, when he marched at once against O'Brien. "This tyme"—again to revert to the narrative of the Book of Howth—

Cox's *Hibern. Anglicana*, part i., p. 192.

"The eirle of Kildare beinge in peace w^t the Butlers by reysone of the cōtencion that was be twen them selves, it chanced the eirle of Wormon, being a wery plessant gentill man, was in love with a fayr & a beutyfull gentill woman, called Rosse Barre, wih he pmesid to have sene y^e morow aft^r w^t a fewe of his servinge men, & as he was

^a This letter is given from a transcript made by Lynch; unfortunately, without reference to the place of its custody. The only liberty taken with Lynch's transcript has been the rendering in full some of the more obscurely contracted words, and the introduction of points to help the sense. The italics are not in the transcript.

^b Perkin Warbeck thrice landed at Cork, viz.,

in 1492, 1495, and 1497, and sailed finally for Cornwall the September of the last-named year. The Lord Deputy Kildare was firm in his allegiance on the last visit of Warbeck to Ireland, and this may account for Sir James Ormonde's being found on the opposite side, as here stated by Sir Piers Butler.—Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, part i., pp. 184, 190, and 193.

ridinge the waye thether, this Marget fitz Geralde wiffe to the forsayd Persse asked her husband sum wine to drinke, & cōplayned she could have none; that heringe her husband sware that he wold neuer retorne befor he did relew her greffe: & as he went, he saw the eirle, hawing but a few servinge men in his company, & so gave the charge upon them, & as he flede his foster brother^a strake him w^t a spere to the hart, & then Persse did occupye that lordship as eirle.”

Stanihurst, although evidently aware of the version given by the Book of Howth, yet seems to have derived from independent tradition some additional incidents. Having followed the error into which the writer of the passage in the Howth MS. had fallen, and made Kildare match his *sister*, instead of his *daughter*, with Sir Piers, he necessarily placed the slaying of Sir James Ormonde subsequent to the accession of Gerald, the ninth Earl of Kildare, and, therefore, after the year 1514. His words are as follows:—

The Chronicles of Ireland, p. 84.

“Great and manifold were the miseries the ladie Margaret susteined, hir husband Piers Butler being so egerlie pursued by the vsurper, as he durst not beare up hed, but was forced to houer and lurke in woods and forrests. The noble woman being great with child, and vpon necessitie constreined to use a spare diet (for hir onelie sustenance was milke) she longed sore for wine, and calling hir lord, and a trustie seruant of his, James White, vnto hir, she requested them both to helpe hir to some wine, for she was not able anie longer to indure so strict a life. Trulie Margaret, quoth the earle of Ossorie^b, thou shalt haue store of wine within this foure and twentie houres, or else thou shalt feed alone on milke for me. The next daie following, Piers having intelligence that his enimie the base Butler would haue trauelled from Donmore^c to Kilkennie, notwithstanding he were accompanied with six horssemen: yet Piers hauing none but his lackie, did forestall him in the waie, and with a couragious charge gored the bastard through with his speare.”

The Annals of Ulster, under the year 1497, records the event thus:—

^a The Book of Howth has here a marginal note by a later hand, thus—“Traysone wrought by a frend supposid.” But James White, Sir Piers Butler’s “trustie servant” and “lackie,” possibly also his “fosterbrother,” is more likely to be the person indicated.

^b An anachronism. Piers was not created Earl of Ossory for many years after.

^c Dunmore was an ancient manor and residence of the Ormonde family, about two miles north of Kilkenny. It is still the property of the Marquis of Ormonde; but of the ancient castle and more modern house no vestige remains there. Sir John Davies says that, in his day, the only park in Ireland, stored with deer, was at Dunmore.

“The son of the Earl of Ormond, i. e. James son of John, son of James the Earl, was killed by Pierce Roe, the son of James, son of Edmund Mac Richard Butler, 16. *Kal. Augusti*.” *Four Masters*, vol. iv., p. 1240, note.

This is the most exact account of the event which has come down to us, and the day of the month, 17th July, allows ample time for the writing of Sir Piers' letter to Earl Thomas, which, it will be remembered, is dated on the 7th of September. There is a slight mistake committed in stating the parentage of Sir James Ormonde, who was the son of *James*, fifth Earl of Ormonde. Sir James Ware, no mean authority, seems to have adopted the date supplied by the Annals of Ulster. He writes in “The Annals of Ireland,” A. D. 1497:—

“A great Discord hapned about this time between *Peter Butler* (afterwards Earl of *Ormond*), and *James Ormond*, of whom we have spoken in *Anno* 1492, and 1493, which at last was destructive to *Ormond*: for he, on the 16th *Calends* of *August*, being only attended with six Horse, was smitten through with a Dart by the said *Peter Butler* (having a certain Crue with him), in the way between *Donmore* and *Kilkenny*.” *The Antiquities and History of Ireland*. Dublin, 1705.

It only now remains to append the statement of another annalist, Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin, who died A. D. 1628. It will be observed that, although he seems to prefer the more modern epoch, he does not suppress his knowledge of the earlier date, assigned by others to the event he chronicles as follows:—

1514. Piers Butler M'James slew James le Butler, the Black, bastard son of the Earl of Gowran^a, between Dunmore and Kilkenny; according to others in the year 1497^b.

To show how unreliable this annalist is as to matters which occurred before his own time, we may transcribe an entry under the very next year, 1515, which relates to the same individual whose death he records in the previous

^a The annalist here confounds Sir James Ormond, who was illegitimate son of James, the fifth Earl, with James Butler *alias* Galdie, the illegitimate son of James, called Earl of Gowran,

and ancestor to the present Lord Glengall.

^b 1514. “*Petrus Butler M'James, intefecit Jacobum nigrum (Duff) le Butler bastardum Comitum le Gawran inter Donmore et Kilkenniam,*

year, but whom he evidently did not recognise under his usurped title of Earl of Ormonde:—

“ 1515. James Butler, Earl of Ormonde, was insulted by the citizens of Dublin in the Manor of St. Sepulchres belonging to the Archbishop of Dublin, on account of which, Legates were sent by the Roman Pontiff to punish the presumptuous violation of the sanctuary of Saint Patrick”^a.

Chronicles of Ireland, p. 82.

Stanihurst gives a graphic description of this well-known broil, and assigns the true date of its occurrence, namely, the ninth year of the reign of Henry VII., A. D. 1493–4. The passage is extremely curious, but too long to quote here. From it we learn that Sir James Ormonde (called, as usual, the Earl of Ormonde) “devised to inueigle his adversarie,” the Earl of Kildare, “by submission & courtesie;” as we have seen that he affected also about the same time to be reconciled to Sir Piers Butler, whom he afterwards seized and detained long in prison (see p. 193, *supra*). Sir James Ormonde had been made Lord Treasurer of Ireland in 1492 (an office which he resigned in 1494), and it is probable that in dependence on the favour of the Crown, and the powerful influence of his uncle, the Earl of Ormonde, he hoped by policy to supplant his rival, and win for himself the post of Chief Governor of Ireland. However, his fierce and ungovernable temper marred all his more sober plans, and in a few years afterwards his turbulent career was brought, in his conflict with Sir Piers Butler, to a tragic termination.

Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. i., Introduction, p. xli.
Cox's *Hibern. Anglicana*, part i., p. 186.

The reader has now placed before him all the information within our reach bearing on this catastrophe—sufficient, at all events, to warrant our differing, in common with the judicious Leland, from such generally accurate authorities as Sir Richard Cox and Carte, who place the death of the “base Butler” in 1518. It will be seen that the original documents, which the course of the narrative next requires us to notice, fall naturally into their places in connexion with the earlier date, whilst they are totally irreconcilable with the later epoch.

History of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 115.
Hibern. Anglicana, part i., p. 207.
Life of Ormonde, Introduction, p. xlii.

secundum alios anno 1497.”—*Dowling's Annals*, p. 33.

^a 1515. “Jacobus Butler comes Ormonie insultabatur per cives Dublin in manerio arch-

episcopi de la Sanct Sepulchres, unde legati sunt destinati a Romano pontifice ad puniendam presumptuosam violationem sanctuarii Sancti Patricii.”—*Dowling's Annals*, p. 33.

The reader will recollect that Sir Piers Butler, in the letter communicating to his cousin, Earl Thomas, the death of Sir James Ormonde, asks for a farm of the Earl's Irish possessions during pleasure; and adds—"Like as I shall demean me theryn, so I trust to fynd you my gode Lord for yo^r largier graunt in the premisse." We have not been able to find any of the original grants made by Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, to Sir Piers Butler, but, fortunately, there is preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, legal evidence that such there were. We have before us an original extract from the Rolls, written on parchment, signed "T. Allen," and certified by "Nicholas Stanyhurst" and "Nicholas Lucas," Clerks of the Rolls, being an exemplification (dated 25th September, 28th Henry VIII., and attested by Lord Leonard Gray, then Lord Deputy) of the three following documents:—

"THIS INDENTURE made the ixth daye of July, in the xxth yere of the Rayne of Kyng A. D. 1505. Henry the vii, betwene Thomas Erle of Ormond on the one p'tie, and S^r Piers Butler, knyght, cousyn vnto the said Erle on that other partie, witnesseth, that the said Erle for the singular love and affection and cousynage that he hathe to the saide Sir Piers, hawe by this p'sentis deputed ordeyned and assigned the said Sir Piers to hawe during the terme of iiij yeres nexte insuing the date of thes p'sentis, the rule and gou^rnaunce of the lordsheppis, man^rs. landis, and tent', and also the tenauntis of the said Erles within the cownties of Kilkenn' and Tuperary within the lande of Irland, and of all other his kynsmen and inhabitantes of the same shyres, and all others that nowe be tenaunt^r or eny tyme hereafter during the said term shalbe ther dwelling within the same shyres, or of ryght ought to be tenaunt^r vnto the said Erle in any of the said counties or in the counties of Waterford, Cathyrlagh, and Lym^rlike, excepte alway and reserued to the said Erle all the pffites and reuenis of Kylkenn', Gawran, Knoktoffir, Grenagh, Carrikemagryffen, and Dunferte, and annuite or annuall rente of x^{li} whiche the said Erle hath of the ffee ferm of the Citie of Waterford, and also the nominacion and appoyntment of all officers, as shyreff, styward, senescalles, recorders, counstables, and capteyns of Kerantye within eny of the said counties or landis aforesaid, belonging to the said Erle, and also excepte the Pryse Wynes, or such other pffites as the said Erle hathe, or to the said Erle shalbe due or belonging, within the said land of Irland; and that all the said tenaunt^r and kynsmen and inhabitaunt^r and eu^ry of them to be as obedient and attendaunte to the said Sir Piers in all thing^r conc^rning ther dutie according to the lawes, custumes, and vsagis of the said lande as they sholde and ought to be vnto the said Erle yff the said Erle were ther p'sent in his owne pson. Moreou^r the said Erle woll and graunteth and also gyueth full auctoritie and power by thes p'sentis vnto the said Sir Piers that he shall in the name of the said

Erle entre and take possession of and in all suche lordshippis, man^{rs}, landis, tent', rentis, s^uices, and all other p^{ro}ffutes, or co^modities whate so euer they be that by true tale, and of weray ryght belong or ap^{pr}teyne vnto the said Erle within the saide counties or within eny of them, or in the counties of Waterforde and lym^ocke, that be oute of the possession of the saide Erle at the making and sealing of this Indenture, and after such entre into the said lordshepps, man^{rs} &c. the said Sir Piers to have and to holde the said lordshippis, man^{rs} &c. to the said Sir Piers and his heires males of hys body lawfully begotten, the said Sir Piers gyving and yelding for the said Lordships, man^{rs}, &c. soe recouered to the said Erle and his heires the thirde p^{ro}tie of the yerly rent^{al} and p^{ro}futes and avayle yerly growing of the said lordshippis, man^{rs} &c. clere and abowe all the chargis of the same. And as for all such lande and tent', rentis, and s^uices as Edmunde Butler, John Butler, Richard Butler, and James fits Edmunde Butler hawe and holde of the said Erle within the said land of Irland, the said nowe Erle is cōtente that they shall holde and occupie them at his pleasure paying suche rentis and s^uices, as shall please the said Erle to haue of them therfor, soo that they be obedient vnto the said Sir Piers according to suche power and auctoritie as the said Erle by thes p^{re}sents hath gyven vnto the said Sir Piers withoute interruption, excepte alway the pariche of ffynogh, that lieth in murgage for a hundred m^okes, the which said nowe Erle will that the said Sir Piers shall acquite and redeme in whos possessyon soo eu^{er} it be; to haue and to holde to hym, and to his heyres vnto the said Erle or his heyres haue repaied vnto the said Sir Piers the said sūme of an hundred m^okes; and towching Bollagherr the whiche ap^{pr}teyneth vnto the said Erlis Man^{or} of Carrickmagryffen, and Crompe is Castell, wherof the said Erle will that the said Sir Piers shall haue the rule vse and gou^{er}naunce, and auctoritie to kepe the courte of the Erle is libertie therin. **PROWYDED** also alway that the said Sir Piers by reason of this graunte and auctoritie by the said Erle vnto him gyven do nor cause to be done eny thing contrarie to his dutie, faithe, and legens vnto oure seuereyne lorde the Kyng, ne that may be hurtefull, or eny wyse p^{ro}iudiciall vnto oure saide souereyne lorde, or to his Deputie in the said lande for the tyme beyng, or that may be hurtful or p^{ro}iudiciall to the Inheritaunce of the said Erle, of his heires, ne to the brege [breach] of the lawes and custume of the said lande of Irland. **PROWYDED** alsoe that yf the said Sir Piers demeane hym self agayne our sou^{er}eigne lorde the Kyng, or his Deputie ther, other wyse then according to his faith and allegence, or doo in eny thing touching the p^{ro}missis other wyse then is comprised within thes Indentures, that then the said Indenture and eu^{er}y artecle and graunte therin to be voyde and of none effecte, and the said graunte vtterly to cease. **AND YF** the said Sir Piers demeane him sylf in suche wyse that eny reasonable complainte be made vnto the said Erle against hym, that then the said Sir Piers shall reforme the same within twelmoneth after the said Erle hathe written vnto hym for the same, and yf he doo not, thes p^{re}sente Indentures to stande voide and of none effecte. **AND** the saide nowe Erle woll and chargeth that the said

Sir Piers indevoyre hym to doo the best of his power to maynteyne and defende the Townes of Kylkenn' and Clomell, and all other townes within the saide counties belonging to the saide Erle, and to kepe them from oppression and vnlawfull impositions, and to see that the said townes may hawe and inyoie the effecte of the grauntes and priuilegis made vnto the said sou^layne and burgessis of the said townes of oulde. **PROWYDED** alwayes that all maner of advousons and p'sentacions, to the whiche the said Erle hathe eny title or ryght vnto within the said lande of Irland, be reserued to the said Erle. **IN WITNESSE** wherof the p'ties aforsaid, the day and yere affor rehersed to thes p'sentis ther seales interchangeable hawe sette.

"**THIS INDENTURE** made the xxⁱⁱ yere of the rayne of Kyng Henry the Sewenthe Betwene Thomas Erle of Ormond on the oon p'tie, and Syr Piers Butler, knyght, cousyn to the saide Erle on the other p'tie, **WITNESSETH** that the saide Erle for the singuler love and fauore, affection and cousynage that he hath vnto the sayde Sir Piers, hath by thes p'sentis gyven graunted and confermed vnto the sayde Sir Piers almaner of land^e, rentis s^uices, man^{is}, with ther appurtenaunces, with all other caswelties and pffites to be taken in Ormond in the lande of Irland, **TO HAWK** and to holde the said land^e, tenement, rentis, s^uices, man^{is} with ther appurtennt^e, with all other caswelties and pffutes vnto the said Sir Piers and his heires males of his bodie comyng, yelding, and payng vnto the said Erle and to his heires yerly the fourth p'te of the pffutes, abow all chargis, taken of all the said land^e, tenent^e, rentis, reu^ocions, man^{is}, caswelties, and pffut^e, with the appurtenaunces, and also sauing vnto the said Erle and his heires the Senory, name, and dignite of Ormond, with the obedience of all the tennauntis and inhabitauntis of the same. **PROWYDED** alwaies that yf the saide Erle hawe eny yssue male of his bodie lawfully begotten, beyng of the age of xxi. yeres and abyding within the lande of Irland, that then, during his beyng in the said lande, the said Sir Piers and his heires to be seised, to his vse and behoff, of two p'tes of [from] the said heires males, and in like maner to the vse and behoff of all others beyng heires males vnto the said Erle. **AND ALSO** the said Erle by thes p'sentis doo gyue, graunte, and confirme vnto the said Sir Piers the man'er of Tyllagh in ofelmyth, and the maner of Arclo^a, with ther app'tenaunt^e with all other land^e and tent^e, rentis and s^uices, reu^ocions in the countie of Cathirlagh in the lande of Irland and beyng oute of the said Erles possession, to hawe and to holde to hym and to the heires males of his bodie comyng, yelding and paing vnto the saide Erle and his heires males of his bodie lawfully begotten the third p'te of the pffutes taken by the said Sir Piers of the land^e and tent^e clerly abowe all chargis, and yf the said Erle die withoute yssue male of his bodie

* Sir Piers recovered Tullow and Arklow, with danger of his life and great charge, from the Irish, in whose hands they had been "thies 200 yeris."—*State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 154.

Lord James Butler writes, in 1537, "Ormonde is in the Irishrie, and noo proficte, but a litle rent at tymes optayned by hostile invasions."—*Id.*, p. 475.

comyng, that then the said Sir Piers and his heires shall yelde vnto the right heires of the said Erle the fourth p'te of pffutes of the landf and tentf aforsaid, clerly abowe all chargf, yerly at the feaste of Mychelmas. **PROWYDED** that the saide gyftes nether grauntes take effecte tyll the said Sir Piers recou^r other recontynue the possessions of the p'miss', and also that the said Sir Piers shall yelde and pay vnto the said Erle the forth p'te of that that he shall recewe of the kynne of Ormond vnto the tyme that the said Sir Piers recontynue other recou^re the possessions aforsaid, and they soo recontynued or recou^red then the said Sir Piers shall holde them by the s^ruices aforsaid. **PROWYDED** alwayes that all man^r of advousons and p'sentacions to the whiche the said Erle hath eny right or title vnto within the saide lande of Irland be res^rued to the said Erle. **IN WITNESSE** wherof the p'ties aforsaid to thes p'sentis interchangeble ther seales hawe sett.

A. D. 1509.

“**THIS INDENTURE** made the xxvith day of July, the firste yere of the reyne of Kyng Henry the eght, witnessith that I Thomas Erle of Ormond hawe gyven and by this my p'sent writing hawe graunted to my ryght welbyloued cousyn Sir Piers Butler, knyght, my man^ris of Clonecurre, Woghteyrn, Whoghterarde, and Castell Warnyng, with ther appurtenauncf, being in the lande of Irland to hawe and to holde the forsaid maners landf and tentis to the said Sir Piers Butler during his naturall lyff^r res^ruing to me, and to myne heires and assignes, the thirde p'te of the yssues and pffutes of all the said maners landf and tentf. **PROWYDED** alway that yff the said Sir Piers Butler or eny other pson or psons in his name, at eny tyme herafter wolde withholde, or stoppe, and not pay to me the said Erle, myne heires, or assignes, the said third p'te of the said yssue and pffutes comyng and growing to my behof of the forsaid man^ris, landf, and tentf and of evy p'te or p'cell therof, as it shall be ordred p'vided and knowen to such psons as I shall depute and name at eny tyme herafter in this behalf, and owyr [over] that yf the said Sir Piers obteyned the possession of the said man^ris landf and tentf of Clonecurre, Whoghteryrn, Woghterarde, and Castelwarnyng, with ther appurtenntf as is aforsaid, and to hawe the rule and gou^rnaunce of the same to his owne vse and not according the effect of this my wryting, that then my p'sent graunte clerly to be voide and of noo streyngh ne vertu in eny wyse to be hadde. **IN WITNESSE** wherof as well I the forsaid Erle as the forsaid Sir Piers Butler to this Indenture interchangably hawe put owre seales the day and yere afor rehersed.”

On an early transcript of the second of the foregoing indentures, preserved also amongst the Ormonde MSS., is copied an extract from the Rolls, being an *inspeximus*, dated 23rd October, 28th Hen. VIII., of a Letter of Attorney from Thomas Earl of Ormond, dated 20th July, 21st Hen. VII., deputing Nicholas White, Dean of Waterford, William White, Recorder of Waterford, and James Sherlock, *conjunctim aut divisim*, to give seisin to Sir Piers Butler

of the lands, &c., named in the deed. And there exists in the same repository an original document under the signatures and seals of Nicholas Wyse, Mayor of Waterford, Nicholas, Bishop of Waterford, Milo, Bishop of Ossory, and Robert Lumbard, Dean of Waterford, dated 27th September, 25th Henry VIII., certifying, at the request of Piers, Earl of Ossory, that divers persons came before them at Waterford, on the day aforesaid, and deposed that Sir Piers Butler had received livery and seisin accordingly. Amongst these witnesses, "James Shortall of Ballelorcan, gentleman, aboute the eage of lxx yeares," deposed that, in the lifetime of Thomas, Earl of Ormond, "he did see James Sherlok gent' and lernyd in the Kynges Lawes, and Maister Nicholas White then Deane of Waterforde going to Ormonde. And that they then pupliched that the cause of theire going thedther was to make liuŷye and s'seiñ to Sir Piers butler knyght, nowe Erle of Ossorye, of the landŷ tenñtŷ & profitŷ in Ormonde." Other witnesses deposed to the livery and seisin of Ormonde being made in the castle of "Enagh" [Nenagh], which was the *caput baroniæ*; and Pierce Purcell of Kilroliŷ, gentleman, testified, "that after that Lyuŷye and s'sein, so made and had in the saide castell of Enagh in Ormonde, Okenedye Captaigne of his nation, that had the custody of the castell, came to the saide Sir Piers, and to the saide Atto'nayes, and delyuŷed to the Atto'nays the Ryng of the gate of the saide castell, which thei forthwith delyuŷed to the saide Sir Piers nowe Earle of Ossorye." Testimony was likewise given of Sir Piers having received livery and seisin of Tullow and Arklow from the same attorneys.

The proofs now placed before the reader go far to confirm the authenticity of Sir Piers' letter to Earl Thomas. They show that, within a few years after the death of his enemy, Sir James Ormonde, in 1497, he had succeeded to his post as representative in Ireland of the absentee Earl, who had so completely given up his interest in that country, as by these deeds to disinherit his sons (should he have any), leaving his heir male but two parts of the profits of Ormonde, and other lands, and that for so long only as he should be resident in Ireland. The documents also prove that Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, considered the title to be devolvable on his heirs general, for he grants away the lands, to a certain extent, in tail, saving to himself and his heirs the seignory, name, and dignity of Ormonde. Carte, however, hints, on the authority of Sir

Carte's Ormonde, vol. i.,
Introduction,
p. xliv.

Robert Rothe, that the Earl had not the power thus to separate the seigniori from the lands, or, indeed, to meddle at all with it or them, the first, second, and third Earls of Ormonde having entailed them on their heirs male, but that Earl Thomas suppressed the deeds in favour of his daughters, the heirs general. Be that as it may, it is evident that Sir Piers Butler became the Irish representative of the Butler interest by these indentures; and as such we find him acting for his absentee cousin. About this time the following curious letter was probably written to him by Earl Thomas:—

“ My Very Good Cousin,

Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.

“ In as hartye man^r as I can, or may, I reco^mmaunde me to you, and haue lately receeued yo^r good and loueing fre bering date at Wat^fford the xix daye of August, by the whiche I vnderstand that Edmond Butler, sounne unto Thomas ffitz Piers Butler, hathe certeyne dedes Evidences and tres sealed, as he affermyth w^t the seale of my lorde my grandfader made unto dame Katerynne of Desmond^a, and to the children betweene them twayne begotten; by the vertue of whiche dedes, as I p^oceyue by yo^r saied fre, the saied Edmond, now of late p^ttending a false title and interest, hathe entered into my Island beside Waterford, and there, contrary to all good right and reason, hath taken a distresse in the great pⁱudice of my rightfull enherytaunce. Wherein full louyngly and discretely ye haue advⁱsised me, aswele for the conf^macion of my saied right, as for the repressing of his malycious mynde, and false p^tence, to write unto my lorde and cousin of Kyldare^b, to my lord chancello^r wth other; so by mean thereof ye suppose I shulde the rather obeigne my right. [The Earl then desires Sir Piers to consult with Nicholas White, Dean of Waterford, and with his advice send him] the trew pedegrewe of the saied gentyllwoman, and who was hir naturall fader and moder, and of what lyne she came bothe of the fader and moder, and to how many housebands she was there maryed unto lawfully,

^a The grandfather of Earl Thomas was James, third Earl of Ormonde, who died in 1405. None of the pedigrees mention this pretended marriage, which would seem, as asserted by Earl Thomas, to have been set up to favour a fictitious claim. The author of a MS. pedigree of the Fitzgeralds of Dromana, says that “he saw a deed of Nicholas Hackett fitz Edmond to Katherine fitz Gerald of Desmond, I suppose [says the writer] sister to James, seventh Earl of Desmond,
. Alsoe a dede of Katha-

rine fitz Gerald, sometime of Desmond, in her pure viduity,” to Garret who was son to James, seventh Earl of Desmond, and was first Lord of the Decies. The first deed was dated the 11th Hen. VI., i. e. A. D. 1433; the second, 21 Hen. VI., A. D. 1443. See MS. in the possession of the Earl of Bessborough, already described.

^b This letter must have been written whilst the Earl of Kildare was Lord Deputy, probably between 1505 and 1510.

and what issue she had by every of them, as nighe as ye can; ffor I m^vell greatly by what title, right, or reason, the saied Edmond shulde make any claime or chalenge to any parcell of myne inherytaunce. ffor where as he sayth that my lord my graund fader shulde make suche dede of gifte unto the same Dame Kateryne, and to the issue of them two begotten, it is no mat^r materiall, ffor by any thing that eu^r I couth perceyue or knowe, she was neu^r maryed unto my lorde my graundfader and therefor, if she had any issue by him, thei wer not legistyme [the Earl then says that he will take counsel's advice on the matter, and in the meantime desires Sir Piers to re-enter on the said Edmond, and keep possession to the best of his power], and thus o^r lorde kepe you longe in felicitie. Yeuen at my mano^r of Newhalle the xxviii daye of September.

“ Your cossin,

“ T. Ormonde^a.

“ To my Right hartely Beloved Cousin,
S^r Piers Butler, knight, being in Ireland.”

The concord between Sir Piers Butler and the Earl of Kildare seems to have continued unbroken until the death of Earl Thomas. It appears that at one time it was even proposed further to unite the rival houses by a marriage between Kildare's daughter, Eleanor, and George St. Leger, grandson of the Earl of Ormonde, which probably fell to the ground when Kildare ascertained that the Irish property and title were entailed on Sir Piers Butler, the next heir male^b, and would not pass to the heirs general—the son and representative of

^a The letter is written by a secretary, but signed in autograph, in a firm bold hand, so that it probably dates several years before Earl Thomas' death.

^b We learn this curious fact from a notarial instrument, dated November 29, 1616, recording, at the request of Piers, Earl of Ormonde, and Margaret, his wife, the testimony of Master James White, prebendary of Maynott, and vicar of the parish church of Ardee (de atrio dei), who deposed, “ that about sixteen years before, or more, he was sent by Gerald, of good memory, Earl of Kildare, to the King of England, about certain matters, when he met Thomas, of similar good memory, Earl of Ormonde, at his mansion in London, when they treated of a marriage

between George Sayntleger and Elenor, the daughter of the said Gerald; the deponent then asked the said Thomas who should be Earl of Ormonde after his death; and Thomas said that Sir Piers Butler, knight, then dwelling in Ireland, should be Earl, because that dignity and Earldom was entailed on heirs male, and Piers was the next heir male after his death. And he said that he could not with a safe conscience do otherwise, or ever break or change that entail.” The original instrument, in Latin, under the signature and notarial mark of Thomas Fyan, public notary, and a clergyman of the diocese of Ossory, written on parchment, is still preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle.

the eldest of whom, the Lady Anne Butler, was the afore-mentioned George St. Leger.

That Sir Piers Butler about this time used every means to extend his interest amongst the Irish chiefs we may conclude from his politic and far-seeing character. Of the formal treaties made between the contracting parties in such cases, there is a curious example amongst the Ormonde MSS., which we here submit to the reader in an English dress. The original is written in Latin, and is the counterpart of an indenture between Sir Piers Butler and Donnell Mac Carthy, the head of the powerful house of Mac Carthy Reagh of Carbery, in Cork. The seal, which no doubt was Donnell's, is broken away:—

A.D. 1518, present style.

This indenture made at Drumanehe [Dromana], January 24th, 1512, between the strenuous, noble, and very potent men, Sir Piers Butler, knight, of the one part, and the Lord Donnell MacKarry^a, chief in the country of the Carberies (“Karbrenium principem partibus”), of the other, witnesseth that the said Piers and Donnell have made perpetual peace, concord, and strict friendship (“indefessam amicitiam”), by treaty between them as follows, confirmed by oath on the holy Evangelists of God, viz.:—Should commotions be raised by any against the said Piers at any future time for ever, that the aforesaid Donnell shall energetically aid the said Piers with all his force and power truly and without dissimulation or excuse; and in like manner that the said Piers shall aid the said Donnell against all his foes, except the most illustrious Lord Gerald, the most noble Earl of Kildare, against whom neither of them shall aid the other, or rise up against him by colour of any excuse. Besides, the aforesaid parties have promised, and bound themselves by oath on the holy Evangelists of God, neither to rise up against, or injure, their mutual friends on any pretext, or to make amity or friendship irrespective of each other. And if it should happen that either be accused of failing the other in the premises, and that he who has this laid to his charge, clear himself in the opinion of the other, that then their league and friendship remain unbroken. And for the greater security of the said league and friendship, the said Piers and Donnell have ordained between them certain intercessors, called Slany^b (“quoscunque intercessores nomine Slany”), and certain oaths (“sacramentativa juramenta”), which, either demanding from the other, shall not be denied, but without haughtiness and contradiction they shall mutually concede, on being desired, to each other. Given the aforesaid day, place, and year, as above written. In testimony whereof the aforesaid Donnell has set his seal to the part of this indenture remaining with the said

^a Mac Carthaigh is pronounced *Mac Kaurhă*, the Irish *th* having the sound of *h*.

^b The Irish word *plána* means sureties or guarantees.—See *Four Masters*, vol. iii., p. 26.

Sir Piers, in presence of these honorable persons, then present, Thadeus Innene Mclady, Donnell M^cKrath, Margaret fitzGerald, of the Geraldines (Margareta gerald de geraldinis) wife of the said Sir Piers, Maurice Omehygan, and Masters James Cantwell, Official of Ossory, and Richard Meyran, with many others.

Besides the especial stipulation introduced into the foregoing document, A. D. 1514. there are other indications of the friendship then existing between the Geraldines and Butlers. In 1514, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, who on his father's Harleian MSS., 3756, fol. 225. death had been appointed Lord Deputy, gave his brother-in-law, Sir Piers Butler, a "chief horse" or charger, a gray hackney, and a haubergeon. And Liber Primus Kilkennie. we find them amicably uniting to frame regulations for the government of the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary.

The published State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII. commence with a A. D. 1515. curious document, throwing much light on the social condition of Ireland at the period. The editors of that invaluable collection place its date about the year 1515. From it we learn that the King's laws were obeyed but in a very State Papers, vol. ii., part iii. pp. 8, 9. small portion of Ireland, comprising half the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford; that in the other halves of those counties, and in the entire of Waterford, Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, Kerry, Carlow, and the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, there was neither justice nor sheriff, whilst "all the Englyshe folke of the said countyes ben of Iryshe habyt, of Iryshe langage, and of Iryshe condytions, except the cyties and wallyd tounes and though that many of them obey the kinges Deputye, when it pleaseith them, yet ther is none of them all that obeyth the kinges lawes." Ten English counties paid annual tributes, ranging from £300 to £20, to Irish chieftains, the Deputy being unable to defend the lieges against their aggressions. In such a condition of affairs it does not surprise one to find it stated that—

"Syr Piers Butler, knight, and all the Captaines of the Butlers of the countye of Kilkenny followyth the Iryshe ordre, and every of them makeith warre and pease for hymself, without any lycence of the King, or of any other temperall person, saive to hym that is strongeyst, and of suche that maye subdue them by the swerde." Id., pp. 3, 7.

At this time an event took place which must have been long anxiously looked forward to by Sir Piers. On the 3rd of August, 1515, Thomas, Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire, died in England. He left no son, and his

*M.S. Pedegree
of the House of
Ormond.*

daughters^a inherited his large possessions in that kingdom. Sir Piers Butler thereon, says Master Richard Lawless, "tooke vpon him the title and name of Earle of Ormond;" and it appears that he lost no time in placing on record evidence to prove his legal right to that title and the Irish property. We have already (see p. 205, *supra*), mentioned a notarial instrument recording a conversation wherein Earl Thomas had declared that the Irish title and estates were vested in his heirs male. There exists in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, another document (under the mark and certificate of Thomas Fyan, an Ossory clergyman, and notary public), whereby Oliver, Bishop of Ossory, makes known to all whom it may concern, that on the 8th of November, 1516, Piers Butler, Earl of Ormonde, petitioned him to record the testimony of certain witnesses in proof that the Earldom of Ormonde, and the property attached thereto, were entailed on heirs male. In the subjoined note will be found an abstract of the depositions of the several witnesses set forth in this curious document^b.

^a "The s^d Thomas, Earle of Ormond & Willshire, dyed the 7th yeare of King Henry y^e 8th, hauing issue the Lady Anne Butler, marryed to S^r James St. Leger of Deuonshire, knight, & y^e Lady Margaret Buttler, marryed to S^r William Bullin, knight. The said Lady Anne Butler, y^e eldest daughter, had issue by the s^d S^r James St. Leger, S^r George St. Leger, knight, who had issue S^r John St. Leger, who now liueth in poore estate. And y^e s^d Lady Margaret Butler, Buttler, 2^d daughter to y^e s^d Thomas, Earle of Ormond & Willshire, had issue by the s^d S^r William Bullin, knight Thomas Bullin, which Thomas Bullin had issue George Bullin, & alsoe 2 daughters, vizt., Anne Bullin, (marryed to y^e s^d King Henry y^e 8), and Mary Bullin, marryed to Sir W^m. Carey, knight."—Lawless's *Pedegree of the House of Ormond*.

^b Nicholas Tywe, 67 years of age, deposed, that he had heard his father, John Tywe (who was 78 years of age, and had been chamberlain to James, the White Earl of Ormonde), say, that if that Earl died without heirs male of his

body lawfully begotten, that then the legitimate heirs male of Richard Butler, brother to said James, would succeed to that Earl's inheritance; and that he heard his said father say, after the death of the said James, and of John his son, that it was a pity that those sons of Richard Butler who would succeed to that Earl's inheritance were not brought up after the English fashion; and the deponent was well aware of the common fame, that the inheritance of that Earldom was entailed on the heirs male, and that Sir Piers Butler was now the true heir male of the said Earl.

John Shorthals, lord of Roystoun and Clo-mantagh, of the age of 80 years, deposed, that he had heard his father, Robert, of the age of 80 years, who was sheriff of the county of Kilkenny in the time of James, the White Earl, as often as he heard any talk about the inheritance of the Earldom of Ormonde, say, that if the said James should die without heirs male, that then the heirs male of his brother, Richard, would succeed to the inheritance; and when

In 1516 Sir Piers Butler joined his forces with those of O'Brien, who had espoused the quarrel of John, "son of the Earl," against James, son of Maurice, heir to the Earldom of Desmond, who raised the siege of Lough Gur, and retired precipitately on the approach of the confederates.

A. D. 1516.
Four Masters.
vol. v., p. 1337.

The Earl of Kildare having, in this year, made a successful foray against the O'Tooles, next invaded Ely O'Carrol, where, says Cox, he was "joyned by several Noblemen of *Munster* and *Leinster*, of English Extraction, and particularly by *Pierce* Earl of *Ormond*, and *James* eldest Son of the Earl of *Desmond*."

A. D. 1516.

Hibern. Anglicana. part I,
p. 206.

John and Thomas, the sons of the said Earl, went to the Court of Rome, he heard him saying, "if they shall not return, the inheritance will remain to the heirs male;" and he was well aware that Piers is the legitimate son of James, the son of Edmond, the son of Richard Butler.

William Cantwell, 66 years of age, gave like testimony.

James Grant, 66 years of age, deposed, that he had heard his father, who was 80 years of age and upwards, and his grandfather, who was 80 years old and upwards, one of whom was constable of the castle of Knocktopher, and the other marshall (mariscallus) of the county of Kilkenny, often stating that the inheritance of the Earldom of Ormonde was entailed on heirs male, and that as often as that White Earl (comes ille candidus) went to England, he was wont to appoint Edmond, the son of Richard, his brother, to rule in his place, saying, Keep well my lordships, for they shall all be thine from the days [of the deaths?] of my sons (a diebus filiorum meorum).

Brother Thomas Neyll, a monk of the monastery of Jerpoint, 60 years of age and upwards, deposed, that he had heard Thomas Neyll, lord of the greater part of Karrick, 80 years of age and upwards, and Walter Glorne, steward of the Earl of Ormonde for the whole of Ireland, 80 years of age, often saying, that the Earl of Ormonde had no legitimate sons except James the

White, and Richard Butler, and that if the said James died without heirs male of his body, then the heirs male of that Richard ought to have the inheritance of that Earldom.

Edmond Arlond, 78 years of age, deposed that, he was brought up with the said Glorne, the steward, and heard him often, after the death of the White Earl, saying, that if James of Wiltshire, John, and Thomas, the sons of James the White, died without heirs male, then the heirs male of Richard Butler, his brother, would inherit that Earldom; and that he heard his father, Laurence by name, 80 years of age, who was of the counsel of the White Earl (de consilio comitis candidi), saying, that the Earldom of Ormonde and its inheritance was entailed on heirs male; he heard divers persons, who were with Thomas the last Earl, saying, that that Earl had declared that inheritance to be entailed on heirs male.

John Cantwell, lord of Moykarky, 66 years of age, deposed, that he heard his father, John Cantwell, Archbishop of Cashel, 70 years of age, who used to be with the White Earl in all parts of Ireland before he was Archbishop, as also with John his son, saying confidentially in secret wise, in the time of the said John, that if John and Thomas, his brother, should die without heirs male of their bodies, that then the legitimate heirs male of Richard Butler would succeed the said Earl in his inheritance, and this he heard

Four Masters,
vol. v., p. 1837.

In this expedition Ormonde aided the Deputy in the siege and demolition of his kinsman O'Carrol's chief castle of Lemyvenane (now called the Leap near Parsonstown), and was present at the surprise and surrender of Clonmel, the principal town of his own Liberty of Tipperary; and, the return of the Deputy to Dublin having left the component parts of his army free to follow their private feuds, we find Ormonde, as already stated, joining the O'Briens against the Desmonds.

The death of Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, soon caused a change to take place

at the time that the said John had to do (*tractatum habuit*), with Raynalda, the daughter of O'Brien, and at other times afterwards; he heard also the said Archbishop swearing by St. Patrick's Cross, and in the presence of John Butler fitz Edmond fitz Richard, who was fostered with the said Archbishop, and saying, "if John and Thomas had not heirs male, then the heirs male of your father are their heirs."

Edmond Maresse, 66 years of age, deposed, that he heard his father, William Maresse, chief of his nation, 80 years of age, who always was near the White Earl (*qui semper assistebat comiti candido*), even at the time of his death, saying, that the Earldom of Ormonde was entailed on heirs male, and that he heard Master Nicholas Whyte, Rector of Callan, 70 years of age, who had a knowledge of that matter, saying, in like manner, that that inheritance was entailed on heirs male, and that Peter Whyte, father of the said Nicholas, saw that entail (*vidit illam talliam*), and that he heard by common fame that the heirs male of Richard would inherit all, notwithstanding the daughters of Earl Thomas.

Isabella Blanchfell, an honest widow, 70 years of age, examined in the monastery of Callan, by commission directed to John Tobyn, rector of Callan, deposed, that she had heard by the common report of good and honest persons of the county of Kilkenny, and especially of Robert Shorthals, lord of Ballyhyggyn, her husband,

60 years of age, and James Rysse, skilled in the king's laws, that the Earldom of Ormonde was entailed on heirs male, and that if John and Thomas should die without heirs male, that then the legitimate heirs male of the said Richard would succeed to that inheritance, notwithstanding the daughters of Earl Thomas, because the lands were entailed on heirs male.

Gilbert Blanchfell, lord of Kilmodymog, deposed, that he had heard by common report and fame through the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and especially from David Blanchfell, his father, lord of Blanchfelyston, the steward Glorne, and Thomas Whyte, constable of Donferth, that the inheritance and Earldom of Ormonde was entailed on heirs male.

The aforesaid witnesses were examined in the monastery of St. John, Kilkenny, by Master James Cantwell, official of Ossory, deputed for that purpose, and at the request of the said Lord Piers, made to the Bishop when present at a public assembly of the county of Kilkenny at "Fynyll hyll" near Kilkenny, on the 16th day of the month aforesaid; and their testimony was reduced to writing and published under the seal of the Bishop of Ossory, used for greater causes, in presence of the said official, the Prior of the monastery of St. John, Master John Tobyn, Rector of Callan, James Shorthals, lord of Ballylorcan, and numberless other persons called together for that purpose.

in the friendly relations which had so long existed between the Earl of Kildare and his brother-in-law. Sir Piers having, as the next surviving legitimate heir male, assumed the title of Ormonde^a, and taken possession of the Irish estates of the late earl, saw with impatience the greatness of the Geraldines, and keenly felt the depression of his own family. He was, therefore, determined, even at the sacrifice of the friendship of his wife's brother, to maintain the honour of his house; and in this he was cordially supported by the energetic character of his wife, who had become, in heart and soul, a Butler, and instigated him to give a vigorous opposition to her own kinsmen. Having secured the favour of Wolsey, whom the pride and inexperience of Kildare had made his enemy, the Earl of Ormonde succeeded in having his rival removed from the government of Ireland; and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, having been created Lord Lieutenant, the chief of the Butlers at once rose into power and importance. We find the king thanking Surrey shortly after his arrival in Ireland, "for the sending of th Archebisshop of Dublin, our Chauncelour there, to Waterforde, for the pacifying of suche discourdes, debates, and variaunces, as be betwixt th Erle of Desmonde^b and Sir Piers Butler . . . so that they, being soo pacified, mought, with their puysaunces, joyne and attende personnally with and upon you, our Lieutenaunte, for your better assistence in repressing the temerities of our rebellious Irishe enimydes." A truce was, accordingly, patched up between them, and Surrey informs Henry that the commissioners had returned on the 10th of July from Waterford, "where, with mouche defyculty, they have takyn a day of truys betwene the Erles . . . to endure unto Candylnas next comyng." Ormonde being thus free from the apprehension of danger on the southern boundary of his territories, was enabled to aid the Lord Lieutenant, then engaged, with "the leest assistence of the Englishry that ever was seen," in laying waste Leix, the country of "Connell O'More." The power of the Earl of Ormonde at this period is well shown by the strength of the forces he led to the aid of Surrey, compared with those under the standard of the Chief Gover-

Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii., pp. 125, 126.

A. D. 1519.

A. D. 1520.
State Papers, vol. ii., part iii., p. 34.

Id., pp. 35.

^a He was not, however, fully recognised as Earl of Ormonde till 1538, though in the patent by which he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, dated 6th March, 1522, he is styled, "Petrus Butler comes Ormond," without qualifica-

tion.—*State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 39.

^b This was James, eleventh Earl of Desmond, whose daughter, and heir general, Joan, afterwards became the wife of Sir Piers' son and successor, James, ninth Earl of Ormonde.

State Papers,
pp. 33, 36.

nor. Surrey's forces consisted of 150 horsemen sent to him out of Wales, 120 horsemen and 300 kerns in his pay, and 48 horse and 120 foot "of the Englishry," being 318 horse and 420 foot in all; whilst Ormonde brought into the field 100 horsemen, 200 galoglasses, and 200 kern of his own, besides 24 horsemen led by his kinsman Mac Murrough. Surrey then proceeds to inform the King as follows:—

Id., p. 35.

"The said Erl brought also O'Kerroyll^a [O'Carroll] to speke with me, who, sethens my coming, hath made oon invasyon, and doon mooche hurt. He is the moost esteemed capteyn of the land; and, with mouche deficulthe, he was sworn to Your Grace. After his othe takin, I examined him upon whate grounde he had moevid warre, considering he had promised Sir William Darcy to bee loving and servicehable unto me, your Lieutenaunt. He said, he was so mouche hurt by Englishmen in tymes past that nowe he sawe good season to revenge his hurtes. I said to him, that it was not for that cause, but that I knew well he had received a letter from the Erl of Kyldare, brought to him by an abbot, dwelling nere to him, which letter caused him to make warre. And he smyled. And both I, the Erl of Ormond, and Sir William Darcy, desirid him to showe the trouth of the said letter. And he answerid, saying he wold not distayne his honour for the paelion ful of gold; ne, if he had receivid any suche letter, wold disclose the same. Then the Erll of Ormond, he and Sir William Darcy, comynyng to gathers in Irish, the said Erl and Sir William advised me to examen the said O'Kerroyles brethern, of the said letter, for the said O'Kerroyll wold it shuld come out by theym. And they both sware, that they stode by, and herd the said letter redd. I examyned them, if it were signed with the Erl of Kildares hand; and they said they coud not rede, and therefore they knew not^b The said O'Kerroyll hath confessid to Conyll O'More, and to Brene O'Conoghour, who have shewid me the same, that he would haue made no warre, yf he had not been sent unto by the Erl of Kildare so to doo; and that for fere of his displeasure, if he shuld retorne, he durst noon otherwise doo. And for noo thing that the Erl of Ormond and Sir William coude doo, he wold be sworne to Youre Grace, unto the tyme I said to hym, that I knewe, assuridly, Your Grace wold never suffer the Erl of Kildare to bee your Deputie here more; and also to promise him to take a resonable peas with Connyll, such as the

^a O'Carroll was a kinsman of Ormonde's, whose grandmother was Catherine, daughter of Moelrony O'Carroll, surnamed *Barbatus* (*Archdall's Lodge*, vol. iv., p. 17); hence the influence of the Earl with the Irish chieftain.

^b This letter, which is printed by Leland,

vol. ii., p. 132, was carried to O'Carroll by the abbot of Monasterevan. It is given in the printed *State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 45. O'Carroll is urged to keep peace with Englishmen till an English Deputy came over; and then to do his best to make war with them.

Erll of Ormond, Sir William Darcy, Cormock Oge, and he, wold make; which, by the advise of all the best of the hoost, I consented unto. And so the peas is made, and Connyll sworn to Your Grace, and I had his son and heyre, and his brother, in plege, that he shall kepe peas, and bee true to Your Grace, and mee, your Lieutenaunt; and I have delyverid theym to kepe, to the said Erl of Ormond. Also the same Erl, O'Kerroyll, Cormoge Oge, and oon Moriartagh Oge M^cMorgho, the best of the M^cMorgoos, be suertis to me for his good abering, and sworne that, if he doo not as he is sworne to doo, they all shall make warre upon him."

In this year Surrey asked Wolsey, but without effect, to procure the Treasurership of Ireland for Ormonde, "for sith my comyng he hath best deserved it, and I doubt not wold do hereafter." Four years after, that office was conferred on him. We find Surrey commending him at this time for a faithful adherence to the truce made with Desmond, which the latter had broken, and the Lieutenant expresses his intention of going shortly towards Munster to pacify the "varyances betwene thErlis of Desmond and Ormond, and theyre adherentes." In the August of this year Ormonde attended Surrey in his expedition against O'Neill "with a right good power of horsmen, and also of fotemen. And over that," continues Surrey, writing to Wolsey, "where at this tyne there was lymyted betwixt me, and such Irishmen as have warre with the kinges subgietes, a day of comynycacion or treatyse, the said Erll, with good diligence, hath come above foure score myles, from his owne parties, to accompany and ayde me at the said treatyse; and at all tymes sheweth hym self toward, to doo the Kinges Grace thankful service, such as no man in this land dooth, and to me right great ayde assistence." A.D. 1520.
State Papers,
p. 39.
Id., pp. 47, 48.
Id., p. 49.

It is probable that it was Surrey's wish at this period to put an end to the disputed claim made by the heirs general of Earl Thomas to the title of Ormonde, and confirm his friend in the possession of it, as he asks the King, in consideration of the services he had recounted, as given above, that the Act of Parliament "concernyng the said Erll," which he had a considerable time previously forwarded to England, should be sent over, so that it might pass at the session about to commence on the 17th October. No such session, however, seems to have taken place*, probably in consequence of "the great trouble and" 4
Id., p. 49.

* The Records of the Irish Parliaments are Irish Statutes, preserved in the Library of the very defective. Harris, in his abstract of the Royal Dublin Society, notes a memorandum,

byssynes with the warre of Iryshmen," which Surrey says would necessary make the intended meeting a short one.

Piers, who died in a good old age in 1539, was now beginning to feel some of the infirmities of advancing years, and Surrey's mention of this fact also gives us, incidentally, the first notice of his eldest son, James, afterwards ninth Earl of Ormonde, and shows that he received his education in the court of England, at that period unstained by the subsequent vices and tyranny of Henry, and accounted one of the most refined and magnificent in Europe.

State Papers,
p. 49.

"Also," writes Surrey, "pleas it your Grace to understand, that the said Erll, every wynter, is soo sore vexed and greved with the gowte in his fote, that he may not ryde, ne travaill; and yf I shuld have never somouche nede of his assistance, he may not repair to me and his men wol never goo furth, onles they have the said Erll, oreles hys son and heyre, with theyme, to bee their capetayne. Wherefor I humbly beseche your Grace, that the said Erll is son, James, beeing with Your Grace, may be sent home with delygence, for thentent forsaid, which may doo the Kinges Grace right good service here, and me assistance, specially at suche tymes as the said Erll may not labour; humbly beseching your Grace tenderly to consider the great ayde and loving assistance I have of the said Erll, both in the felde, and in his discrete counsail, with his famylier conversacion, which is to me great eas and comfort, that therefor your Grace wold wouchesauf, according my speciall trust, to shew unto the said Erll suche favours, in bryefe expedycion of the premisses, that he may fele and perceyve to spede the better therein, by means of this my humble intercession and petition."

Id., p. 50.

Three days after this letter was written, namely, on October 6, Ormonde was at Clonmel, about to attend the Lord Lieutenant and Council to Waterford for the purpose of being reconciled to Desmond, and they write to the King, "asfor thErll of Ormond, we cannot desire to have hym more confourmable than he is." At this time, it appears from the letter now cited, that a project was on foot, which, if it had been carried to a successful issue, would have linked the house of Ormonde still more closely to the royal line of England,

dated the 5th November, 12th Henry VIII., to the effect, that search having been made in "y^e Treasury where y^e kings Records were kept," it was found that the Roll of the Parliament

held at Dublin, 7th Henry VIII., "evidently appeared to be new cutt within y^e space of a month preceding, and part of the Roll taken away."

than even did Henry's subsequent marriage with Anne, the younger daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and grand-daughter of Earl Thomas. Before Surrey came to Ireland he seems, in conjunction with others of the Council, to have suggested to Henry the advisableness of a marriage between Ormonde's accomplished son and Mary, Boleyn's eldest daughter. This we learn from the following passage in the Lord Lieutenant's despatch, which, from its interesting nature, we here transcribe:—

“ And where, at our beeing with Your Grace, divers of us moeved you to cause a maryage to bee solempnyed betwene thErll of Ormondes son, beeing with Your Grace, and Sir Thomas Boleyns doughter; we thynk, yf Your Grace' causid that to bee doon, and also a fynall ende to bee made betwene theyme, for the tytle of landes depending in varyaunce, it shuld cause the said Erll to bee better wyllled to see this land brought to good order; notwithstanding, undoubtidly, we see not but that he is as wele mynded thereunto, and as redy to geve his good advyse and counsaill in all causes for the furtherance of the same, as we can wyssh him to bee.” *State Papers*, p. 50.

The King was, at this period, favourably disposed toward the proposed inter-marriage, and in his reply to Surrey directs him to influence Ormonde “ for his agreeable consent and mynde therunto,” promising, in the meantime, to advance the matter with the lady's father, and inform the Lord Lieutenant how he found him inclined to the match. The project, however, slept for a twelvemonth, and finally came to nothing^a. *Id.*, p. 57. *Id.*, vol. i., part i., p. 92.

The exertions already alluded to had produced a cessation of the overt acts of enmity between the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, both being sworn to

^a Surrey had previously expressed his desire that Lord James Butler should be sent to Ireland to head his father's retainers in the field, and his request seems to have been supported by a letter from Ormonde himself. It appears that Henry was unwilling to lose sight of him, looking on him partly in the light of a hostage for his father's good behaviour, and to this motive may be traced the projected marriage with Mary Boleyn. Wolsey, writing to Henry from France in November, 1521, shortly before his return to England, which took place on the 27th of that month, says (*State Papers*, vol. i., part i., pp. 91, 92):—“ Finally, Sir, I have considred the request and desire made unto Your Grace by Sir Piers Butler, conteigned in his letters, whiche I thinke veray reasonable; and surely, Sir, the towardnes of his sonne considred, who is right active, discrete, and wise, I suppose he, being with his fader in that lande, shulde do unto Your Grace right acceptable service. *Howe be it, Sir, goode shall it be to prove, how*

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 57.

Id., p. 58.

A. D. 1521.

Id., p. 64.

Id., p. 76.

keep the peace and help each other in all lawful causes. Ormonde had brought to Surrey, at Waterford, "Cormok Oge and M'Carty Reagh, two Irish lordes of great power," who were "of his band," and disposed at this time to surrender their native rights, and hold their lands of the King, "soo they may bee defended." The Lord Lieutenant asks Wolsey to "cause thankfull letters to bee sent from the Kinges Grace to the Erle of Ormonde, aswele for his deligence shewed unto me, at all tymes, as also for that he shewith hymself ever, with his good advise and strenght, to bring the kings entended purpose to good effect. Undoubtedly," continues Surrey with friendly emphasis, "he is not only a wyseman, and hath a true English hert, but also he is the man of moost experience of the feautes of warre of this countrey, of whome I have, at all tymes, the best counsail of any of this land. I wold thErll of Desmond were of like wisedome and order."

In the April of this year Ormonde, in company with Sir William Darcy, was sent by Surrey "to pacyfy divers Irishmen, which were shrewdly dysposid to have made warre upon the kinges subgietes," in which by threats of a "great power comyng hether with thErll of Kildare, and with divers others good dryftis," they partly succeeded. "Howe bee it," naively observes the Lord Lieutenant, "smale truste is in their promyses." In July "thErll of Ormonde made sharp warre upon OKerrol, and hath doon his part right wele;" and Surrey asks the King to write "letters of thankes" to him "for his paynfull deligent service doon to Your Grace here."

Surrey, perceiving that he could not continue in the government of Ireland with credit to himself unless he was enabled by larger supplies of men and

the said Sir Piers Butler shall acquite hym self in thauctoritie by Your Grace lately to hym committed, not doubting but his said sonne being within your reame he woll doo ferre the better; trusting therby the rather to gett hym home. And I shall, at my retourne to your presence, divide with Your Grace, how the marriage, betwixt hym and Sir Thomas Bolain is doughtier, may be brought to passe, which shalbe a reasonable cause to tracte the tyme for sending his said sonne over unto hym; for the perfecting of whiche marriage, I shall endeavour my self,

at my said retourne, with all effecte." By the phrase, "Sir Thomas Bolain is doughtier," can alone have been meant his eldest daughter Mary, as Anne, married to Henry VIII in 1532, was at this period only fourteen years old, and had not returned from France, being a member of the household of Claude, Queen of Francis I. Mary Boleyne afterwards married William Carey, and her son, Sir Henry Carey, was created Lord Hunsdon by Queen Elizabeth, his first cousin.

money from England to complete the conquest of the country, and besides, feeling his health much broken, had asked in the previous year to be recalled. In October, 1521, Henry sent his letters to Wolsey, then in France, expressing his intention to recall the Lord Lieutenant "thys nexte yere," and desired the Cardinal Legate to "devise uppon sum othre personage to be sent in to these parties." Wolsey writes in reply from Calais at considerable length. It appears that Henry had suggested Lord Ferers, or Sir Piers Butler. The former, Wolsey sets aside as being likely to be ruled by the Irish Council, not being expert in matters of weight; and—suggesting that the appointment of an English Deputy must induce a larger expenditure of treasure than would be agreeable to Henry, now desirous to save money to meet the great charges he would be subjected to "by entering the werres," according to the convention made between him and the Emperor of Germany—he puts forward "the said Erle of Ormonde, now being the grettest personage, and of mooste power amonges your obeisaunt subgiettes in that land," if he could be induced to act as the King's Lieutenant with as little expense to the Crown as when the Earl of Kildare was Deputy. "For whiche purpose," further writes Wolsey, "I have divised the minute of a letter to be sent by Your Grace to your said Lieutenant." Pace replies to Wolsey, by Henry's desire, that the King had received the minute in question, and approved of his advice as to the government of Ireland in general, except that, instead of making Sir Piers Butler Lord Lieutenant at once, he thought it better that Surrey should appear to sound his intentions "as of hym self, in secrete maner," and, if he should succeed in persuading Ormonde to be his Deputy, "for a tyme," "with the same interteignment, or lesse, than the Earle of Kildare hadde," and the King be, on Surrey's return, fully informed "off the qualities off the sayde Sir Piers Butlare," that then he would have him appointed Deputy by "his royall autoritie." Both Wolsey's minute, and the King's letter to Surrey, altered therefrom, are still preserved, and have been printed amongst the State Papers of Henry VIII; we transcribe from the latter the passage relating to Sir Piers Butler* :—

State Papers,
vol. i., part i.,
p. 69.
Id., pp. 72, 73.

Id., pp. 76, 77.

Id., vol. ii.,
part iii.,
pp. 88-90.

* In Ormonde's appointment to the Deputyship we may trace the influence of Wolsey's partiality, Surrey's friendship, and Henry's want of money. Hatred to the Geraldines, no doubt, also influenced the vindictive mind of the Cardinal Legate.

“ We therefore coude be content, and the rather agreable, that ye shulde retourne to this our Reame, yf convenable provision mought be made for a substanciall and active personage to be your deputie there in your absence, with suche interteignment as ye and he canne agre upon, for the defence of our seid lande. And in divising and debating with our Counsaill what personage shuld be moost mete to occupie the rowme of your deputie there, We have remembered Sir Piers Butler, pretending himself to be Erll of Ormonde; who as We be enfourmed, aswell by your writing, as otherwyse, is nowe reputed and taken for the best amonges other our obeisaunt subgiettes of that lande. In consideracion wherof, our mynde and pleasure is, that ye, in secrete maner, shall declare unto the said Sir Piers Butler, as if yourself, binding him, also, by the feithe of a gentelman, in lyke maner, to kepe the same secrete, that We entende to minishe our retynue there, and that We have sent for you, to have with you comunicacions, aswell therin, as in other weighty matiers, and for the great wisdom and feithe ye have by dailly experience founde in hym towards Us, above all other our subgiettes inhabiting within that our lande, towards the politique governaunce of the same, ye may desire hym to take upon hym to be your deputie there, tyll ye shall retourne again. And percevyng his towarde mynde to occupie the said rowme under you, ye maye then further breke with hym, as of youre selfe, to knowe whether he coude be contentyd to be your deputie there, if ye by your laboure, coude induce Us to be agreable therunto, by declaracion of his wisdom and activenesse made unto Us, at your repaire unto our presence, with suche interteignment as the Erll of Kildare hadde, or lesse, as ye canne by good policie move hym to be contentyd with. And if ye canne induce hym to be your deputie there, in maner and fourme affore rehersydde, then our pleasur is, ye shall repair to Us incontynently. And, in the mean season, whiles ye shall move and procure hym to accepte that rowme, in such maner and fourme as is affore expressed, We shall cause our licence to be made to you, for to surrogate a deputie there. And at your retourne unto Us, We wolbe by you, in ample manner, infourmyd of the qualities of the seid Sir Piers Butler, whether he be mete to occupie that rowme, or not, affor he shalbe made our Deputie there by our royal auctoritie. An necessarie it is this matier be closely handelyd, that the said Sir Piers Butler, ne any other of our Counsaill there, may, in any wise, take any suspicion or conjecture, that either We be agreable ye shulde cum home, otherwise than to retourne again, or that ye were mynded soo to do. For they, having the lest deteccion or overturre therof, shall soo extremely sticke to theyr advauntage, that hard shall it to bring them to any reasonable wayes; whereby both our pleasure, and your desirouse mynde, shulde be clerely frustrate.”

A. D. 1522.
State Papers,
p. 93.

Ormonde, at the head of the Irish Council, after the departure of Surrey with the English forces, asks the King for five or six ships to keep the Irish seas, awe the Irish rebels, and prevent any invasion from Scotland, expressing great

fears in consequence of the "extreme daunger and parell" which threatened them. This letter is dated on the last day of February: on the 6th of the following month his patent as Deputy to the Earl of Surrey was signed, and on the 26th he took the oaths of office. "On the third daye after that, the said Lord Deputy departeyd from this cite of Duly[n]" [Dublin], writes Stile (who had brought over the King's recall of Surrey) to Wolsey, "for to comune with Maghe Mur [Mac Murrough], and other Yrysshe cappytayns; and so from thens home to his awne contrey, to the county of Kilkenny, where the said Lord Deputy kep[er]id his Ester. And yt plese your Grace, yt is said that within this 8 dais the Lord Deputy shall speke with the Erle of Desmond, in the marchis of his contrey of Mownster, and after that immedeately that the Lord Deputy will come hether to Duly[n] at this Ester terme."

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 97.
Archdall's
Lodge, vol. iv.,
p. 19.

Ormonde, having lost the support of the English contingent, had not the power to preserve the same order in Ireland as his predecessor, and, besides, it should be remembered that the scarcely slumbering enmity of his rival Kildare was ready to burst forth on the slightest provocation, and was, at all times, secretly employed in fomenting disturbances amongst the Irish. However, Ormonde's influence caused many of the native chiefs, with some of whom he was connected by ties of consanguinity or friendship, to make formal submissions to the Crown.

Id., p. 93.

Leland's Hist.
of Ireland,
vol. ii., pp. 132,
133.

About this time an embassy was sent by the "Regulus" of Upper Ossory to his brother chieftain, as doubtless the Macgillpatrick held the King of England to be, in form as follows:—"The Irish Ambassador to King Henry the Eight, coming toward y^e chapell vttered this oration—'Sta pedibus Domine Rex Dominus meus Gillapatricius me misit ad te, et iussit dicere: quod si non vis castigare *Petrum Rufum* (Piers Butler, Earl of Ossorie), ipse faciet Bellum contra te.'" There had been an old blood-feud between Earl Piers' branch of the Butlers and the Macgillpatricks. In 1443, Edmond Mac Richard Butler (the Earl's grandfather) had caused the two sons of the then Lord of Ossory to be slain in Kilkenny; and in 1478 the sons of the murdered men had stained the doorway of the very cathedral of St. Canice with the life-blood of Mac Richard's son. "Piers the Red," doubtless, lost no opportunity of carrying fire and sword into Upper Ossory to avenge his uncle's death; and in the records of the Corporation of Kilkenny for the year 1517 we catch a casual

Lambeth M. S.
611, fol. ult.

See p. 36, *supra*.

but graphic glimpse of this private warfare—the Tholsel of the town having been then partially rebuilt, and furnished with the iron grate of Macgillapatrik's border castle of Coolkill, as a trophy of the prowess of the stalwart burghers, headed by their Sovereign, and aided by Sir Piers Butler*. It does not appear that “Piers the Red” was chastised by Henry, and whether the Ossorian “regulus” made good his *ultimatum*, and waged instant war against Henry's Deputy, is not recorded: we only know that, ten years afterwards, Ormonde's youngest son, Thomas, was slain in a fray with the Tanist of Ossory, Dermot MacShane Macgillapatrik, who was, however, delivered up, by his own brother, Brian, then chief of his name, to the Earl, by whom “he was fettered, in revenge of his son, and of every other misdeed which Dermot had committed against him up to that time.”

Four Masters,
vol. v., p. 1407.

* The passage is so curious that we give it in the original, with a translation, premising that the previous entries show the Sovereign for the year 1517 to have been Walter Courcy:—

“Item, anno regni regis infrascripti et anno Domini M^o.cccc. decimo septimo constructa fuerunt magnum solarium et parvum desuper, cum omnibus aliis ligneis edificiis et portis in eodem tolsito, per supervisum infrascripti Superioris in expensis communitatis.

“Item, eodem anno, modo premissis, constructa fuit nova porta lapidea inferius super latus orientale predicti tolsiti, et appositum est illo le graate ferreum violenter asportatum a castro bernardi tunc m^ogillpatrige, nuncupato le Cowlkyll in Ossoria, per superiorē et communitatē ville Kilkennie tunc existentes in hostili exercitu cum domino Petro Butler milite et postea comite Ormonie. Et etiam in solario ejusdem tolsiti reparatus est in medio novus paries.

“Item, plures bumbices facte sunt, et diverse lorice empte, pro inhabitatores ville ad ejus defensionem. Item unum novum vexillum, per supervisum infrascripti superioris, rubeum in quo continetur arma vel scutum ville emptum est in expensis communitatis.”

Item, in the year of the King before written,

and A.D. 1517, the great and little solars, with all the other timber structures and gates in the said Tholsel, were constructed under the supervision of the said Sovereign at the public cost.

Item, the same year, and in the manner aforesaid, was built the new stone gateway below, on the east side of the said Tholsel; and in it was placed the iron grate taken by force from the castle of Bernard, the then Macgillapatrik, called Coolkill, in Ossory, by the Sovereign and Commons of the town of Kilkenny, then in warlike array, aided by Sir Piers Butler, Knight, and afterward Earl of Ormonde. Also the new wall in the solar of the said Tholsel was repaired in the midst.

Item, more cannon weremade, and divers hauberkes were bought for the inhabitants, for the defence of the town. Item, there was bought, at the public expense, and under the supervision of the aforesaid Sovereign, a new red banner, charged with the arms or shield of the town.—*Liber Primus Kilkennie*, fol. 63 verso. The existing remains of the castle of Coolkill, seated in one of the passes which lead from the Queen's County into Kilkenny, show it to have been of no mean strength, and give warrant to the pardonable vanity of the warlike burghers of Kilkenny.

But, to revert to our narrative: Kildare returned to Ireland in January, having, during his stay in England, allied himself by marriage to a powerful party there, and in a great degree ingratiated himself with Henry, whom he attended to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. At first he seemed anxious to co-operate with the Deputy, by whose permission he invaded Leix to chastise Connel O'More; who, on hearing of his return, had committed ravages in the county of Kildare, but, having fallen into an ambush, he escaped with difficulty himself, and retired with the loss of many of his followers. But this seeming concord did not long continue: the feud between the rival houses merely slumbered for a time, and even early in this year we find indications that Ormonde used his official power to weaken Kildare's party and strengthen his own position. Kildare's wife, Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the Earl of Dorset, in a letter dated May 25th, complains to Wolsey "of the Kynges Deputes sore and unfaworable demenour" to Kildare, and gives it as the common report, of which she had known her husband twice warned ere he rose out of his bed, "that yf the sayd Deputie mought have my sayd Lord at eny advauntage, that he wold utterly dystroy hym," and insinuates that the cause of Ormonde's enmity was solely because Kildare would not promise to join him against the heirs general of Earl Thomas, irrespective of the King's will in the matter. "And now of late," continues the Countess, "sens Maij last past, the sayd Deputy hath brokyn dywers castelles longeng to my sayd Lord, and to hys frendes, whych castelles was emong the kynges Iresh rebelles, and wer gret defens for the Kynges Engles subgyectes," all which she says, Kildare patiently endured, fearing the King's displeasure if he took the law into his own hands, "and yf yt were not, therfor, lytyll wold he suffre such wronges." So that he had no remedy "onles yt be by the Kyng and youre Grace," as Ormonde would not be ruled by the Irish Council*. Kildare himself, writing the day before to Henry, makes similar

A. D. 1523.
Cox, *Hibern. Anglicana*,
part i., p. 213.

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
pp. 101, 102.

* Kildare's complaints seem to have led to some attempt on the part of Henry to prevent the occurrence of an open rupture between the Earls. In the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, there is still preserved the draft of a document endorsed "An order or award betweene Piers Earle of O: Lo: Dep: & the Earle of Kildare," to the following effect:—

"THIS AWARDE quaterpartite, indented, youen and maide the xxviiith daie of Novembre in the fiftenthe yeare of the reigne of oure Souvereigne Lorde Henry the viiith of England and ffrance Kyng, Defensoure of the faithe, and Lord of Ireland, WETNESSETH that wheire the right honorable lordes Sir Peter Butler, Erle of Ormound, now being the kings deputie in his land of Ire-

insinuations, and, in addition, charges Ormonde with entering into confederacy with O'Carrol, and others of the Irishry, "by whose assistance he intendeth to

land foresaid, and Sir Geralde ffitzgarralde Erle of Kildayre, right accordingly to a certaine article, to theime shoud, of the kings most gracious exhortacion for their vnitie and concorde, to theime at the commaundement of his highnes declared by the most reverend ffaither in god George, Archbushupp of Armachan and prymait of all Ireland, hath ordeigned as arbiters bie theime of oone consent chosynne, to ordre, iudge, stablisch, and awarde all and euerie oone such grudgf, stryves, demaundies, or debaytes before this daie movid or begonne, from the bygynnyng of the world vnto this daie, the moste reuerend ffaithers in god Hughe Archebusshup of Dublyn, the kingf chaunceller of the said land of Ireland, and the foresaid George Archbusshup of Armachan and Prymait of all Ireland, Sir John Rawsonne, knight, priour of Saint Johns Jerusalem in Ireland, and Treasurer of the Kyngf saied lande, and Patrik Brymygam cheef Justice of the Kingf benche their, as more clearly appearith by the condicions of their seu'all obligacions, dated the viith daie of Octobre, the xvth yeare of oure saide souereigne Lord; by vertue wheirof, and in consideracion of the Kingf moiste gracious pleass^r in this behalue, with the quietie and restfullnes of his subgiettf in this his saide land, the whiche mucche (as it appearith) standith in the vnitie and concord of the noblis of the sayme, and in especiall of the goode vnitie and concorde of the saied two Erles of Ormound and Kildayre, after diuerse and many threatf of thoccacions and varyaunce between the saied two Erles, and by the saied Arbitreres deligently herd and ponderid, haue orderid stablischid and awardid, as they haue thoughte expedient as by this present award they do declayre, That these two lordes, the saied Sir Peter Erle of Ormound, now the Kingf deputie of this his lande, and the

foresaid Erle of Kildayre, forgetting all old grudges and varyauncf, bee of oone concord and vnitie, ready to s^ue the Kingf highenes in resisting and defending the malice of his grace is dissobeysaunt subgiettf, aswell Englishe, as Irisshe Rebellis, and that as well for their owne welth as outhir the kingf subgiettf here. AND WHEIR, by thoccacion of seuerall peax and seuerall warre, haith growen many and diuerse grudgf between the foresaid two lordes, not alonely hurtefull to theyme selfe, but also greatly to the vnquietie and noysounnes of the kingf subgiettf, whereforre the saied arbrtrers iudgith stablischitt and awardith that neither of theime in anywyse maike no seu'all bandes, seu'all warre, ne seuerall peax with Englishe or Irissmen, without licence of the kingf grace, or consent of his deputy ande counsaill, and in thabsens of the deputy, the counsaill here. ALLONELY excepted there be any suche peax or treux to a reasonable day taken, so that the kingf moiste noble grace or his deputie & counsaill here bee of that with all deligence shuid, infourmid, and advertisid, and in the saide deputies absence the counsaill; after the whiche advertisement the said peax longar to bee kept or brokyn as shalbe the kingf saied grace is pleass^r, or as the said deputy and counsaill shall thinke expedient, and in thabsence of the deputy, the counsaill. AND ALSO in determynynge of the like grudgf, stryves, debaitf, and varyancf between the foresaid two Erles by reasonne of tacking coyne and lyverye of duerse and many of the kingf subiettf, not allonely to their greate discontentacion ande displeass^r, but to the vtter impouvrshing of the kingf saied subgiettf here, the said arbitrers iudgith, stablischith, and by this presentf awardith that there be no coyne and lyuerey neither by the saied Erle of Ormounde the kingf deputie,

defend his title to thErl dome of Ormond, be it right or wrong;" and mentions the prevalence of a rumour that the King proposed shortly to remove him from the head of affairs in Ireland. *State Papers,*
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 100.

nor yet by the saied Erle of Kildayre nor noone of their s^ruaunt^r or kynsmen which they may rule, taiken uppon any of the king^r s^bgiett^r within the iiij obeysant shires, Meth, Vryell, Dublin, and Kildayre, owtherwise thanne is lymitid by certaine writing^r indentid, made between the right honorable lorde S^r Thomas Howarde Erle of Surrey, Treasurer of England, late Lieutenaunte of this the King^r lande and the saied S^r Peter Butler Erle of Ormound now the King^r deputie here. And yf any suche coyne and lyvery bee taiken by aither of the saied lordes, theire servaunt^r or kynsemen outhirwis thanne by the saied writing^r is expressid, thanne the saied lordes and aither of theime after knowlege had or made to theime theirow [*sic*] see dew redresse with satsysfaction to the pairte theirow hurtidde. **THIS NOTWITHSTANDING** the saied arbiters doith not intend to prohibyt no coyne and lyvery from the saied Erle of Kildayre, by the fre wille of thenhabitaunt^r his tenaunt^r or outhers within the countie of Kildayre youen, and by him vsidde, or the Erle his faither before seasoune, for the speciall defence of theime and oithers the king^r subgiett^r from the king^r Rebelles, and their ennemyes of the Irishrye. But that the saied Erle may without forfeatoure take of the saide inhabitaunt^r suche coyne and lyvery as is beforre reherssid for the considera^rcon of the saied defence, this awarde innowyse withstanding. Also it shall be leafull to the saied Erle of Kildayre, whoime the saied Arbiters by the consent of the saied deputie iudge moiste mete and hable as a defenso^r in the said deputies absens to defend the King^r saied foure obeysaunt shyres, in which defending the saied Arbiters deem and iudge hym worthy to

receyve and take, in all suche journeys for the defence of the invasions (or any outhere journey thought mete by the counsaile and necessarie to bee doon for the comon welthe) suche coyne and lyvery as the deputie shulde have in that doinge; ande according to the purport and trew tenoure of the saied bill indentid, right discreatly made and ev^rmore to be obs^rued aswell by the deputie for to come, as the deputie nowe present, for the great welth of this the king^r lande, between the foursaiede lorde, lord Thomas Erle of Surrey laite the King^r Lieutenaunt here, and the foresaied lorde deputie. The whiche bill indentid the saiede Arbiters iudge and thinke verry expedyent, and for the welth of the King^r subgiettes here right necessarye, that the foresaied two Erles of Ormound and Kyldayre and eyther of theyme indeavoure theyme selfe to caus the sayme duely to be eobs^ruid ande kepte, aswell toucheing toother lordes or gentlemen of this the King^r land as of their owne partiea. **AND BY-CAUSE** the saied Erle of Kildayre shulde bee moore prompt and attentyve in the defence of the sayme, the saied Arbiters by agreament of the saied Deputie ande by this preasant^r iudgith, stablishith, and awardith that for the goode and faithfull s^rvice to bee doon by the saied Erle of Kildayre to the king^r highenes and his deputie in this behalve all the season that the saied Erle of Ormounde shalbe Deputie, to haue an hundredreth poundes to be paied of the reuenu of his deputacion yearely at two termes in the yeare & by even porcions. **FFURTHERMO^r** the saied Arbiters iudgith &c. that the saied Erle of Kildayre suffer the saied Deputie, the king^r Treasurer, ande their officers peasably to levye, gather, and receyve as well tharreraig^r of suche like subsidies

Allowing that Kildare himself had policy enough to await the result of the charges made against his opponent, backed as they would be by the powerful influence of his wife's connexions; it is certain that his followers

& reuenues within the countie of Kildayre payable before this daie, as also hereaftirward to bee growen or dewe, and likewis the saied Deputie to suffer the saied Erle of Kildayre and his officers to receyve and perceyve all suche arrearaigne of suche like subsidies within the counties of Killenney and Tepperairy as well as outhere reuenues to him due by reasoune of his late deputation or in the right of the Erle his faither somtyme Deputie here, yf it so be iudgid of the kinge cheef iudge of either bench ande the cheefe baron of the chequer here. And if the saied iudge and cheefe baron cannot agre, thanne to stande at the determynacion ande iudgement of oone of the Kinge iustices of either of the benches within England, suche oone as the cheefe iudge here shall name and thinke moiste expedient in this behalve. AND WHERE ther bee certaine particular claymes between the saied two Erles as for cheefe rentes, talking of stresses and outhers, they both in all suche thinge to stand in arbitrement of the saied cheefe iudge of the kynges bench here. MOREOVER the saied arbiters ordereth &c. that aswell the saied Erle of Kildayre, as the saied Erle of Ormounde the kinge deputie, without colloure or ffrawde endeavoure theyme selfe after the beste maner they canne to ordre their bredren kynemen and s^ruants after suche maner of ffourme as may be beste to the pleasoure of Almightye god, the keeping of the kinge lawes, and the peasable restfullnes of the kinge subgett, or outhirwis to bring theyme in vnto the kinge Deputie ande counsaile, and in the Deputies absens to the counsaill here, where they may at all seasounes bee ordered aftir the kinge saied lawes goode equitie and iustice. AND FFURTHER the saied

arbiters have ordeigned &c. that the saied Erle of Kildayre shall bryng, or cause to be brought in, Sir Geralde Makshaine and his sonne before the kinge Deputie and counsaill at Dublyn with diligence, or in the Deputies absens befoire the counsaill theire, and befoire theyme to be examyned of suche demerities and default as they have doen and comitted against the kinge higenes and his subiett, and theirforre to receyve punysshment acordingly. PROVIDED alway that in no mainer of wyse the saied Deputie do alyenat or pardoune the foiresaied Geralde Makshaine or his sonne from the ryghfull punysshment of the saied Erle of Kildayre in suche thinge as concerneth the trespasse and offence doen to the saied Erle, but that the saied S^r Geralde and his sonne be readeliue^d after such examynacion had, yf the counsaill think it so expedient, to the saied Erle of Kyldayre, to be iudgid within the countie of Kyldayre acording vnto the lawes of his libertie grauntid by the kinge grace to hym in this behalve and nowe outhirwise. AND OUTMOIRE the saied Erle of Kildayre with convenient dealigence shall expell and put out of his pyle callid Castle Conre, lying in the ffrontiers of the landes of the deputie, Cono^r obrenne, and from hensforthwardes shall not suffer the saied Cono^r obrenne nor noone outhir the kinge yrishe rebelles or the saied Deputies ennymies to inhabyte theyme selfe within the saied ffortres or any outhir his fortresses lying in the borders and ffrontiers of the saied Deputies landes. AND in likewis the saied Erle of Ormounde now being the kinge Deputie shall expell and remooove all and euery one the kinge yrishe rebelles, or ennymies vnto the saied Erle of Kildayre, out of all and euery one his fortresses adioyning and af-

could not brook the delay consequent on the course which prudence indicated.

A friend of Ormonde, who "was partaker of all the deputies counsell," and believed by the Geraldines "to keepe a kalendar of all their dooings",

fronting vpon the possessions of the saied Erle of Kildayre, nor hereafterwarde shall let any suche his fortresses to any of the kingf rebelles or yrishe ennymies of the foresaied Erle of Kildayre, but theyme to expell withall dealigence, and that without frawde and prolongacion of time after due requeste to the saied Erle of Ormound in this behalve made. AND for ffynall conclusion of this awairde the said Arbitrers iudgith &c. that from hensfurth the saied two Erles bee of one vnitie and concorde likwis as is beforesaide and not to maineteyne no Quarrelles the one againste the oither but aither of theyme to bee ready too defende and preferre oothers rightfull causes and quarrelles againste the kingf yrishe rebelles, so that they both by help of other may rather the better attayne to doe the kingf grace in this lande thankefull s⁷wice lyke as the saied arbitrers doith truste it shalbe acceptable vnto almighty god, approvid vnto the kingf highenes, ande welthfull vnto this his lande, ande to their great proufit, lawde, and prayse. AND THOUGH the saied arbitres greatly deasirith this their awairde of vnitie, concorde, iudgement, establishment, and determynacion of vari- auncf inviolably euvermoire to be obserued and kept, yet they aswell at the instant peticion of the saied two Erles, as for the discharging of their owne conscience, fforasmuch as the saied two Erles protestid at the sealling of their obligacions they intendid not to bee bound to the saied great and grevous forfeiture aboute the space of a twolmoneth after the dait of the lyuerey of this saiede awarde, wherefore they decayre by this presentf that of the saied two Erles, nor of none of theyme theyre bee no suche

forfeatf taiken by reason of theyr saide obli- cations, so that this saied awarde be truly obserued and kept by the space of an hoole yeare, as it shall please the saied oure souereigne Lord the kingf grace. YOUN at Dublyn the daie and yeare aboue written. YET also at the speciall peticion of the saied two Erles, and for bicaus in this said awarde aboue written there be many diuerse and sundry articles, whereof some concerneth not allonely the vnitie and goode concorde of the foresaid Lords, the Lorde Deputy Erle of Ormounde and the saied Erle of Kildayre, but also the comonwelth of this land, and some oither moore speciall the amycable peace between the saide Lordes as well as outherticuler mactiers, wheirfore consequentelye it shulde fol- lowe some forfeatures to be taiken moire gre- vouslye thanne some outhers, the saied arbitrers theirfore doith reasue aswell the taxacion of the penaltie, whereof in some condicions to be taxid at ten pound, some at twentie poundf, and that as often as suche breche shall ffortune by the saied pairties or any of theime, and so upward as the greavousenes of the breche shall requier vnto the some of the saied obligacions, with the inter- pretacion of all doubtfull thingf wi⁷in this awairde to theime selffe, by theime to bee iudgid at all seasounes, and enterpretaitate whensoever variance in that behalve shall ffortune."

The "obligacions" alluded to in the foregoing "Awarde" have been printed in the *State Papers* (vol. ii., part iii., pp. 112, 113). Ormonde's bond was for 1000 marks; Kildare's was for the same amount.

* "As if he were Ormond's spy on Kildare's actions."—Ware's *Annals of Ireland*.

Stanihurst's
*Chronicles of
Ireland*, p. 84.

Robert Talbot, of Belgard, was met by James Fitzgerald near Ballymore Eustace, who "slue him euen then vpon his iourneie toward the deputie to keepe his Christmas* with him" at Kilkenny. "With this despiteful murther," continues Stanihurst, "both sides brake out into open enimitie^b, and especially the countesse of Ossorie [Ormonde], Kildare his sister, a rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a realme, had not hir stomach ouerruled hir knowledge. Here began informations of new treasons, passing to and fro, with complaints and replies. But the marques Dorset had wrought so for his sonne in law [Kildare had married his daughter Elizabeth], that he was suffered to rest at home, and onelie commissioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the root of their griefes; wherein if they found Kildare anie thing at all purged, their instructions were to depose the plaintiffe, and to swear in the other lord deputie." That Ormonde, however, still had friends at court, appears from his appointment, dated May 13, to the office of Lord Treasurer of Ireland.

A. D. 1524.

Carte's
Ormonde, vol. i.,
Introduction,
p. xlv.
Annals in Ware.

The Commissioners arrived in Dublin about midsummer-day (June 24), and heard the allegations of Ormonde and Kildare in the prior's house of Christ Church; and although articles of agreement^c were signed by both the Earls on the 28th of July, the terms of which show that no very heinous offence could be proved against Ormonde, yet in two or three days after he was superseded, and Kildare made Deputy in his room,—a step which was clearly pre-arranged ere the Commission left England. To lay claim, however, to some show of impartiality—"concerning the murtherer whom they might haue hanged, they brought him prisoner into England, presented him to the cardinal Woolseie, who was said to hate Kildare his blood: and the cardinall intending to haue put him to execution caused him to be led about the streets of London haltered, and hauing a taper in his hand: which asked so long time, that the deane of Lichfield [one of the Commissioners] stepped to the king, and begged his pardon. The cardinall was sore inflamed herewith, & the malice not hitherto so ranke, was throughlie ripened, & therefore henseforwarde Ossorie [Ormonde] brought foorth diuerse proofes of the deputie his

Stanihurst's
*Chronicles of
Ireland*, p. 85.

* The 'Annals' in Ware state that the murder was perpetrated in September.

^b "Propter quod Butlerii stomachabantur."—

Dowling's *Annals*, p. 35.

^c These articles of agreement are printed in the *State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., pp. 104-8.

disorder." A letter of Ormonde's, dated from Kilkenny on the 22nd of April, confirms the latter part of this statement. It was written to the Lord James Butler, still resident at the English Court, and is as follows:—

A. D. 1525.
State Papers,
 vol. ii., part iii.,
 pp. 118, 119.

" In my loving maner I recomende me unto you. And lately hath had relacion, that certain of the Counsaill, by the Deputies meanes, have written over thider, to have the Kinges letters addressed to me, prohibiting me to take any Irishe mens part. Whereupon ye most ever have good, secret, and diligent esspyall, lest the Kinges letters be so optayned, whiche then wold not oonly bee grete prejudice to me, and to you, in tyme commyng, but also great discourge to all myne adherentes, to continue any amytye to me, or you, hereafter. Now ye may perceive the parcialitie of theym, that so certified, being ordred and conducted therin, as the Deputie wolde have theym. And during my being in thauctoritie, they never certified any of thErl of Kyldares apparaunt mysorder, or transgression, in any maner. Shewe the Kinges Grace, and my Lord Cardynall, of the soden wilfull invasion doon by the Deputie upon OKerroll, long after the date of the Kinges letters now directed; whereof I have rather certified you by a frere of Mowskery. Wherupon ye must devise, in my name, to the King and my Lord Cardinall, as my trusty servaunt, Robert Couly shall penn and endite. As for thindentures, they bee infrenged by the Deputie, and in maner no point observed; and as for my part, I will justifie, I have truly observed theym, to my gret losses, in suffring my adherents and servauntes distruccions. The Deputie, nowe afore Ester, did set suche coyn and liverey in the 3 obedyent sheres, that mervaille it were to here two litell townes of myne, called Castell Warning, and Oghterarde, with [out] any other towne, ded bere 420 galloglas. For 4 myles the pore tenauntes be so empoverysshed, that they cannot paye my rentes, and the landes like to be clere wast. Now lately he hath sente out of the Exchequier a writ to Waterforde, that all maires and bailliffes, that were there sens the furst yere of our Souverain Lord that now is, shold appere in 15 Pā [quindena Paschæ] to geve accompt, before the Barons, for al maner the Kinges duties, revenues, and poundage there; whiche is doon for a cautell, to put me to losses and my heires. For Waterford hath a sufficient discharge, but oonly for my halff of the prises, and the 10£ of annuite*, with the 20 markes to the churche. And asfor the price, and 10£ of annuite, I must see theym discharged. Wherefore ye must labour to gette an especiall patent of the King, of all the prises in this land, according to my graunte, made to myne auncesters by his most noble progenitours, and specially in Waterford, and the 10£ of annuitie, without any accompt-making; with this clause, " absque aliquo comoto," &c. If it bee not had, it will be moche prejudice to you, in tyme commyng; for this is doon to dryve you ever from the principal wyne, and the said annuitie, and not to

* i. e. The creation fee of the Earldom of Ormonde.

have your prises, till ye have a discharge out of thExchequier, from tyme. In any wise, slepe not on this matier, and if ye do, the most losses and trouble willbe yours, in tyme commyng. Immedeat upon the receipt herof, sende for Robert Couly, and cause hym to seche remedies for the same; and if James White^a bee not commyng, let hym endeavour hym self to obteigne it. Furthermore, I desire you to make diligent haste hyther, with the Kinges licence; for surely, onles I see your tyme better employed in attendaunce of my great busynes, then ye have doon hither, I wolbe well avised, or I doo sende you any more, to your costes. Written at Kilkenny, the 22 daye of April.”

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 120.

On the 20th of the following month the King writes to Kildare requiring him, “without any stoppell or further delaye,” to pay, within twenty days from that date, the half subsidy awarded to Ormonde by the late Commission, and other portions of the public revenue due to him, amounting in all to about £800; and, shortly after, Ormonde set sail for England, “without making the Kinges Deputie or Counsaill pryve to the same” to urge his charges against Kildare. The Deputy, on his part, was not idle. Some time in the following month his brother-in-law, Lord Leonard Grey, was instructed to lay before Henry articles “towching the mysedemeanour of thErle of Ormond, sethens the departure of the Kinge’s Commyssioners out of Ireland.” We give some extracts as a sample of the rest. Kildare charges Ormonde with taking—

Id., p. 123.

Id., pp. 120–4.

“Coigne and liverey of all the kinges subgiettes within the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, not only for his horsemen, kerne, and galloglas, but also for his masons, carpenters, taillours, being in his owne werkes, and also for his sundry huntes, that is to seye, 24 persones with 60 grehowndes, and houndes for dere hunting, a nother number of men and dogges for to hunt the hare, and a third number to hunte the martyn, all at the charges of the Kinges subgiettes, mete, drinke, and money; the hole charges wherof surmountith 2000 markes by yere Item, whereas the said Deputie had warre with O’Kerrull, which euer hath been oon of the Kinges grettest ennemyes in this land, and most hurte hath doon unto the Kinges obeisaunt subgietes of the same; the said Erle of Ormond, at a certain tyme, when the said Deputie invaded the same OKerrull is countie, did sende 4 of his gunners, with gunnes and powder, to defende the said OKerrullis castell^b, against

^a Probably the faithful “lackie” who aided Ormonde in his encounter with the base Butler.—See p. 196, *supra*.

^b It appears by the deposition of “Fergennayne, eldest son to O’Kerroll,” taken before

Kildare, that the Castle of Lemyvenane, or The Leap, was warded by four gunners, servants to the Earl of Ormonde, after Easter, in the year 1525. O’Carroll was Ormonde’s kinsman.—*State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 121, *note*.

the Kinges said Deputie; and besides this, did make fast promysse with the same OKerroll to have taken his parte against the said Deputie, contrary to his alegeaunce. Item, where as the late Bishop of Leghlyn was heynously murdered by thAbbot of Duske's son, being the said Erle of Ormondes neigh kynnesman, for that intent the said Abbot might have enjoyed that Bisshoprik; at the whiche murdre ther was 3 of the same Erle's servauntes, for the whiche he hath not as yet punyshed theym; and farthermore did succour the said Abbot, in his cuntre, at such tyme as the said Deputie did persecute hym as the procurer of the same murder^a. Item, the servauntes of the said Erle of Ormond did burne, robbe, and spoile a towne of the said Deputies, called Lyvetiston, within the countie of Kildare, where they cruelly murdred and burned 17 men and women, diverse of theym being with child, and oon of theym, that fled out of the fire to the church, was slayne on the high auter. Item, the said Erle of Ormond kepeth a warde of evill disposed personnes, in a pyle adjoyning to the see, called Arclow, which do not oonly robbe and spoyle the Kinges subgiettes, passing ther by, but also do ravishe women, maydens, and wydowes. Item, all the churchis, for the more parte, within the said counties of Kilkenny and Typperary, are in suche extreme decaye, by provision, that, in maner, there is no devine service kept there, and shallbe well proved, that fewe or none laboureth to the Appostill for any benefice, without the consente of the said Erle, or my Lady, his wif, by whom he is only ruled^b, which are the veray maynteners of all suche provision; in so muche as they lately mayntayne certayn provisers against the said Erle is son being Archebisshop of Cashell^c, contrary to the Kinges letters directed in the favors of the said Archebisshop: so as, and if the Kinges grace do not see for the

^a Dowling says that Bishop Doran was slain, A. D. 1522, in Leix, between Kilneyn and Cloagh-ruish, by Maurice Cavanagh, surnamed "Guer, idest, sharp," who was Archdeacon of the diocese, because he wished to correct the perversity of the said Archdeacon and others. When Kildare was made Deputy, he *crucified* the Bishop's murderer "at the head of Glan Reynald by Leighlen."—Dowling's *Annals*, p. 34. The severity of the punishment is accounted for by the passage in the text, where Kildare seeks to implicate Ormonde in the guilt of his near kinsman.

^b We thus can trace to a Geraldine source Stanihurst's assertion, that Ormonde was "(saue onelie in feats of armes) a simple gentleman," and that he owed his reputation to "the singular wisdome of his countesse, a ladie of such a port,

that all estates of the realme crouched vnto hir; so politike, that nothing was thought substantiallie debated without hir aduice."—Stanihurst, *Chronicles of Ireland*, p. 85. Doubtless the Earl did not spurn the advice of his strong-minded consort; but that he was as well skilled in diplomacy, and more than a match for his rival Kildare at the Council-board, as well as in the field, the published State Papers of the period abundantly show.

^c This may account for the delay which took place in the consecration of Edmond Butler, the Earl of Ormonde's illegitimate son and bitterest enemy. Maurice Fitzgerald, his predecessor in the See, died in 1523; Edmond Butler was not consecrated until the year 1527.—Harris's *Ware*, vol. i., p. 482.

hasty remedy of the same, there is like to bee no more Cristentie there, then in the myddes of Turkey; for the spirituall swerd is there clierly dispised. Item, he hath used to sende over see, unto oon Robert Cowly, by whome diverse untrothes hath been proved, to indite complaintes, at his oone pleasure or discession, against the said Erle of Kildare; having with him a signet of the said Erle of Ormondes, to seale the same*. Item, in caas thErl of Ormond make any new matier of the letter, that thErl of Kildare sente to thErl of Desmond, the trouth thereof was this" that he was "fayne to write unto the saide Erle of Desmond, to have metten with hym at a certain place, where he thought to have desired his aide against the Kinges said rebelles which letter his sister, the Lady of Ormond, caused to bee taken from oon of his servauntes that bare the same, he being then lodged in her owne house."

Although we must allow for the exaggeration of malice in these statements, yet they probably present a true and melancholy picture of the miserable condition to which the contending factions had reduced the country.

Kildare's complicity with his kinsman Desmond gave Ormonde a great advantage over his antagonist. Desmond had seized the conjuncture of Henry's war with France to enter into a treasonable correspondence with the enemy.

*MS. Relation of
the Fitz Gerald
of Ireland.*

Kildare, as Deputy, was ordered to march against and arrest him. "Vpon receipt thereof," writes Russell, "the Earle of Killdare, with the greatest forces he could make, comes with speed to the Province of Munster, to hunte out y^e Earle of Desmond; and hauing done in y^t service what lay in his power, hee went his way as wise as he came; but whether willingly and wittingly hee omitted the opportunitie as being loath to bee the minister of his cosen Desmonds ruine, or that it lay not in his power to doe him hurt or* harme, he missed the mark at which he aimed;" and, being summoned to England to answer this as well as other charges preferred against him by Ormonde, was committed to the Tower.

The consummate ability which insured to Ormonde his own triumph, and the disgrace of his opponent, and his thorough knowledge of Henry's arbitrary character, are well illustrated by his voluntary surrender, about this time, into

* See Ormonde's letter to his son at the English Court, p. 227, *supra*. Cowly, the confidential servant of Ormonde, was a direct ancestor of

the late Duke of Wellington. See a Paper on the Cowleys of Kilkenny, *Transactions of Kilkenny Archæol. Society*, vol. ii., p. 102.

the King's hands, of the ancient Earldom of Ormonde, his claim to which he took so much trouble to prove on the death of Earl Thomas*. At this period

*There is preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, a parchment document, under seal, endorsed, "Indentures of coveñnt betwixt theires gen^lall of therle of Ormonde, and therle of Ossorie," and signed, in autograph, "Anne Seyntleger," "Rocheford," "George Seyntleg^r," and "M. B." for Margaret Boleyne. One seal, with its slip of parchment, is wanting, which, no doubt, bore the signature of Sir Piers Butler. The substance of the indenture is as follows:—The heirs general, and the heirs male of Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, "by the mediacion & direc^on of the moste reu^end ffader in god Thomas, lord legat de lat^e, & Cardynall Archebishop of York, & chaunceller of Englonde," agree to surrender to the King their respective claims to the "honor, tytyle, style, & dignitie of the name of the Erle of Ormond, and the annuite of ten pound^r of the fee ferme of the cite of Waterford in Irlond graunted lymtyed or assigned for mayntenance of the same" to be "clerely and intierly at the disposicion, pleasure, & will of oure seid sou^eraigne lord & of his heires." Further, the heirs general covenant not to disturb the claim of the heirs male to the manors of Cloncurry and Turvy, with their appurtenances, which were settled by fine on the heirs males of James Earl of Ormonde and Aleanore his wife, in the 4th year of Ed. III.; whilst Sir Piers and his son renounce all claim to the wide possessions indicated by the names thus recited:—"the castelle honour^r and man^r of Carrymakgryffyn, Roskre, Kylkenny, Balygawran, Knoktoghher, Rush, Balyskadan, Blackcastle, Oghterin, Oghterrard, Castell Warnyng, Arcloo, Tullaghoffelyn, & the Barons Inne in Dublyn, and all other castelle, honours, lordships lond^r, tenement^r, advowsons, knight^r fees, rent^r, reu^esions, possessions, & hereditament^r, what so eu^r they be, whiche were the seid Thomas

late Erle of Ormod^r, or any of his auncestors, or ony pson or psons to his or their vse in the seid londe of Ireland." At the same time the heirs general agree to "sett to ferme to the seid Sir Piers Butler and Jamys his son the castell of Kylkenny, & the maners of Balygawran, Knoktoghher, & all other maners, lordships, lond^r, tenement^r, and hereditament^r lying in the Counties of Kylkenny, Typare, & Ormond on the west pt of the Ryver of Barowe in the seid lond of Irlond," with all their rights and apurtenances, excepting the "maners and lordships of Carrymagryffyn, & the castell and man^r of Roskree," with their appurtenances, for a term of thirty years, at £40, English money, per annum, payable half yearly, "vppon the ffont sett & being in the body of the Cathedrall church of Sent Paule in the cite of London," with a clause of surrender every three years on the part of the tenants, and a covenant that in case the heirs general sell or exchange the said property, *or it be otherwise disposed of by the King or his heirs*, that then this lease, and all other leases or grants made by or to the parties, shall cease and determine. Provided also, that if Sir Piers or his son recover any of the property of the heirs general, not mentioned in the indenture, "lying or being in the seid lond of Irlond on the seid west part of the seid Ryver of Barowe oute of or frome the hand^r & possession of the Irysshe men, co^menly callid the wild Irysshemen," or other property belonging to the said heirs general, and not then in the possession of either the said heirs general, or of Sir Piers Butler, that then the said lands be enjoyed by Sir Piers during the said term of thirty years, without any additional rent; all the property of the late Earl to the east of the Barrow being entirely reserved to the heirs general, free from all claim of the heirs male, with a co-

the Boleynes were entering on their brilliant, but short-lived, career. Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford,—a title taken from the manor of that name^a in Essex, which he inherited through his mother, second daughter of the late Earl of Ormonde,—had set his heart on the Irish Earldom. Premising thus much, we shall allow Master Richard Lawless to continue the narrative:—

“About y^e 18th yeare of the Raigne of y^e s^d King Henry 8. the s^d S^r Thomas Bullen, Lo: Viscount Rochford (being in high estimation & creditt with y^e King) made suite vnto his Majesty in regard that hee was one of y^e heyres generall of y^e s^d Thomas late Earle of Ormond & Wiltshire, & descended from one of his daughters, that hee might have y^e title & name of Earle of Ormond with y^e Fee of creation of 10th reserued vpon y^e Feefarme of ye City of Waterford incident to y^e sayd name of honour. And albeit the King was very loath to give cause of discontent vnto y^e s^d S^r Piers Butler then Earle of Ormond, being then a worthy servitor, & that hee knew y^e s^d Lo: Rochford had noe right to that name (y^e said Earldome being entayled^b as before, & y^e s^d Lo: Rochford descending of y^e younger daughter of y^e s^d late Earle), yett notwithstanding his Maj^{ty} to give contentmente vnto y^e s^d Lo: Rochford, intreated ye said S^r Piers to relinquish his Title to y^e s^d name of honor, & Fee of Creation; & to surrender y^e same vnto his hands, to bee disposed of at his pleasure, w^{ch} the s^d S^r Piers (in performance of his pleasure & for auoyding his Highnesses indignation) was contented to doe. After which surrender y^e s^d king by his Letters Patents vnd^r y^e greate Seale of England, bearing date the 19^e yeare of his Raigne, created y^e s^d S^r Piers Butler Earle of Ossory^c, vnto him & y^e heyres males of his body.”

venant to set the manors of Arklow and Tullow to Sir Piers and his son for such reasonable term of years and rent as may be agreed on between the parties. The indenture also contains a reservation of the rights of all the parties to proceed by law, within the next thirty years, for the recovery of any right they might respectively have to the property mentioned therein, such proceeding to be had before the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice of England, and their decision to be final; “provided alway that neyther of the seid p^{ties} nor the heires of any of theym at any tyme heraft^r shall from hensforth make ony clayme, title, p^{tens} or demaunde to the seid hono^r, name, style, title, & dignitie of the name of the Erle of Ormond nor to the seid annuite of x^{li}, nor to any part or p^{cell} therof, by

ony right or title growen or had before the date of thes p^{sent}.” The indenture is dated 18th February, 19 Henry VIII. (1528), and, besides the signatures of the contracting parties, is signed in autograph by Wolsey, as “T. Car^{us} Ebor.”

^a The manor house and church tower of Rochford, both fine specimens of brickwork, are said to have been built by Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, in the reign of Henry VII.

^b Lawless had before stated that the Earldom was “instituted to y^e heyres males of y^e body of y^e said James Butler first Earle of Ormonde:” but this was a mistake.—See p. 208, *supra*.

^c The same Patent gives him and his heirs male, as Earls of Ossory, £20 creation money annually out of the King’s manor of New Castle of Lyons, in the county of Dublin.

The patent was dated on the 23rd of February, 1527-8. In the Cottonian A. D. 1528. Collection, British Museum (Titus, B. 11, fol. 354, &c.), is preserved the following curious unpublished account of the ceremonies attendant on "The Creation of the Lord Pyerce Butler to be created Earle of Osserey:"—

"The sayd Lord, honorably accompanied, the saturday the xxiith day of february the xixth yeare of our Sovereigne Lord King Henry the viiith, rode from London to the Castell of Windsore, where his lodging was in the sayd castle prepared for him. Howbeyt because that his coming thither was somewhat late, and also for that he was a little diseased, he remayned for that night in his lodging in the Toune, and on the morrow being Sunday the xxiiijth day of the sayed moneth he went to his lodgings in the sayd Castell which was right honorably prepared for him, called the Lord Chamberlaynes lodgings, neare the chappell, where was made good fiers in both chambers, and his breakfast was ordeyned for him, & other y^t did accompany him; and there remayned untill a little tyme before that the Kyng was goinge to his high Masse; and some what before the kings coming forth, the sayd Lord well accompanied went into the Kings chamber, where he was honorably receaved of all the Lords there being present, wth other; and ymmediately after his obeysance done unto the Kinge, he went before his hignes, according to his rome [degree], to the Kings Closet, & there tarried until the saying of high Masse, and after the saying ware done, incontinent returned to his chamber, & the Lord Marques of Exeter, and the Earle of Oxenford great cham^lane of England, thErle of Rutland went also unto the sayd chamber, where they all put in their Robes of Estate: And the Lord Marques of Exeter and the Earl of Oxenford did leade him, and the Earl of Rutland bare the sworde, the pommell upward, S^r Thomas Wriothesley, gartier principal King of Arms, bare the Pattent of his creation, and other officers of armes went before him; and also certaine gentlemen and the Kings Trumpetts tarried at y^e Kings chamber dore, the residue of the gentlemen entered into the chamber of Estate, the King being under his Clothe of Estate nobly accompanied. And y^e third obeysaunce made, the sayd Sir Thomas, Gartier, presented the tres pattents of the sayd Lord unto therle of Oxenforde, being Lord chamberlaine of England, w^{ch} presented them unto the Kinge, and his Grace delivered the sayd pattents to Doctor Sampson Deane of the Kings Chappell, and of his College of Windsore, to reade, which in a audible voyce red it, and at the words *CINCTURAM GLADII* thErle of Rutland presented the sworde to the Kinge, and the Kinge gyrd the sayd sworde about him bandewise, the sayd Lorde kneelinge, & the other Lordes standinge, w^{ch} acte don, the Kinge comāded the new create Earl to rise and to stand up. Which done the sayd Maister Dean redd out his Pattent, and redelivered it unto the Kinge, and the Kinge with good wordes gave it unto the sayd Earle of Ossory, which gave his Grace thanks for the great honour done unto him. That done the King departed to his Chamber, and the sayd Earle bearing his

pattent him selfe, ledd as before ys sayd, therle of Rutland going on the right hand, and therle of Oxenforde, and all the other officers and gentlemen retourned to his lodging in like manner as they went thither; the Trumpetts, going before him, all blew till they came neere to his chamber, and there stood aparte and blew contynually tyll all the companie was entered the said Lodginge; and when the said Earle of Ossory was entered into his chamber S^r Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, tooke his pattent of him to have a coppie thereof; and after the said new create Earle dyd off his sworde and mantill hauing his surcoat and hoode upon him, the other Lordes did off all their Robes, and after went together to dinner. Therle of Ossory kept the estate, and the other Lordes sate accordinge to their estates and auncientnes, where they were ryght honorably served and all at the Kings charges. And the sayd Earle right honorably agreed wth S^r Thomas Wriothesley, Garter Principall Kinge of Armes, for his Apparell, and which is the fee accustomed of his office of Principall King of Armes, that ys to say [. *blank in the manuscript.*]. And because the Kinge kept noe household there was noe larges proclaymed, how be yt the Kinge and the sayd Earle of Osserey gaue unto the office armes [*sic*] their rewardes, the Kinge gaue as he is accustomed, and the sayd Earle gaue us for his rewarde twenty nobles. The Trumpetts had for their rewarde xx^l, which were but v in number^a. The dinner doun the sayd new Earle did off his surcoat, and did on other apparell, and my Lord Marques of Exeter tooke him by the arme, and accompanied him to the Kinge, where after certain communication he tooke his leave of the Kinge and Queene, my Lady Princes. My Lord the Viscounte Rocheford accompanied him to his chamber, and diverse other noblemen, and after that the wayters had dyned he sent to the gentleman huysshier, Master Lye, and to other that gave him attendance, forty shillings for rewarde, and tooke his leave of them, and soe retourned to his Lodginge in the Toune, and on the morrowe after rode to London, and there tooke his leave of my Lord Leggatt and Cardinall of Yorke, and after retourned to his Countrey^b.

Thus was the Earldom of Ossory acquired by Sir Piers Butler: and as the more ancient honour of his house was derived from the wide possessions purchased by his ancestor from De Braosa, known as Ormonde (Urmhumhain), or West Munster, and afterwards raised into the Palatinate or Liberty of Tipperary by Edward II.; so this new title was, doubtless, chosen as being the name of the Irish principality conterminous with the ancient Liberty of Kilkenny, and

^a Ossory complains, subsequently, of his "charges in England."—*State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 132.

^b We owe this curious contemporary account of the ceremony to Garter King of Arms himself,

as appears by the following note in Sir James Ware's handwriting appended to the transcript:—"This is a true coppie of Sir Thomas Wriothesleys booke, who was Garter Principall King at Armes."

the present diocese of Ossory, in which the chief seat of the family, Kilkenny Castle, was situated. Two years afterwards, the coveted Earldom of Ormonde, in addition to that of Wiltshire, was conferred on Viscount Rochford,—soon, however, to revert to its previous possessor.

We find the Earl of Ossory at Ross, in the county of Wexford, shortly after his return to Ireland. During his absence in England there had been much disturbance in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, the Lord James Butler being absent, engaged in “great labours for thapprehension of the unhappy Erl of Decimon” (Desmond), but without effect. In the meantime, O’Connor, whose “black mail” had been withheld by Kildare’s Vice-Deputy, Lord Delvin, having arranged with the Chief Governor a “parliament” or conference “nighe O’Chonour’s contrey, by a castle of Sir William Darces called Rathyn,” seized on him “by trayn precogitate,” on May the 12th, 1528. In this extremity, the Irish Council inform Wolsey that they chose “Sir Thomas Fizgarrat [brother to the Earl of Kildare] capitayn for our defence in this quarters^a, bicaus that the Garrantynes be next for the defense of this parties, and thErle of Osserie is so ferr from us, that the contrey mought be sore dammaiged before his comyng hither.” “Almightie God,” despondingly write the Council to the Duke of Norfolk^b, “grante that our Sovereigne Lorde may provide breve remedye; or elles this poor Englisrie is lyke to have suche ruyne, that will nat be repaired in any mans daies lyving: for the Hirishemen (being never so strong as nowe) have spied their tyme, and our debilitie never more than then at this houre. The Holy Trinitie defend us, for here is none othir hope of socoure.” On the 20th, Lord James Butler writes to Archbishop Inge, Lord Chancellor, that, by O’Connor’s safe conduct, he had seen the Vice-Deputy at O’Connor’s own house, where he was so closely kept, that with difficulty he was allowed speech with him, and that only in Irish, and before O’Connor and his two brothers. In reply to some propositions of Butler, O’Connor’s reply was, that “yf he myght have his wadgis, with my Lord Deputie’s ransome,” and an engagement never to be called to account for his capture, “that then he wold be at peas; otherwysse he wold nott.” Having failed in his object, Lord James was seen

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 126.

Id., pp. 127-
130.

Id., pp. 130, 131.

^a The Earl of Ossory is generally, but erroneously, stated by most writers to have been elected Vice-Deputy on this occasion.

^b Who, whilst Earl of Surrey, had, during his Lieutenancy, gained the respect and confidence of the “Englishry” of the Pale.

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 132.

Id., p. 135.

Id., p. 137.

Id., p. 139.

Id., p. 143.

safe into his own country by O'Connor's brother and Tanist, Cahir, whom he brought by much entreaty to his father, "when my said Lord and I have brought hym to that poynt, that I trust the Kinges Grace will be servyd by him, yf his brothere will nott be conformable to rayson." As soon as the Earl of Ossory heard of the Vice-Deputy's capture, he took measures to detach O'Carrol, O'More, Mac Gillpatrick, and O'Meagher, from O'Connor, and through their means arranged to have a conference with the latter on the 28th of May, when, if he should not be content "to be at any reasonable ordre," they engaged to take part against him; and this notwithstanding "right larg offers" made them "by thErll of Kyldare's trusty and secreat counsaill and servauntes, to tak the contrary part," and side with Kildare's son-in-law, O'Connor. Norfolk, writing to Wolsey on July the 3rd, says he sees no remedy but to continue Sir Thomas Fitzgerald as Vice-Deputy, and enable him to raise forces for the defence of the Pale; he also suggests that funds should be supplied to Ossory for the purpose of buying off the Irish, but is decidedly against the proposition that either the latter or his son should be made Deputy. Henry himself had suggested to Wolsey that either Ossory or his son "shulde be assigned and appoyntid to defend the said lande," and Wolsey gives his voice in favour of Lord James Butler, "the age, unweldynes, and other passions" of the Earl of Ossory rendering him unfit for the active service which would be required of him, while Lord James Butler, "valiaunte and actiff," "shulde bee more mete for that purpoos, thenne his father (notwithstanding his yong yeres)," provided he were placed under the guidance of the Irish Council. But if Kildare were to be discharged of his office of Deputy, "thenne surely the said Cardinall thinkethe that the Erle of Ossery, for his age, nobilitie, and personage, is more mete to bee Deputie thenne his sonne James."

The King having considered it advisable still to retain the Earl of Kildare as Deputy, Lord James Butler was directed to protect the lieges against the Irishry, who on the 14th of October writes to Wolsey, saying that, having received the King's orders, and laying aside all his other affairs, he had marched into the Pale to undertake its defence against O'Connor and his adherents, the followers of Kildare, and asks the King's favour and assistance in this "so hygh charge," and to countervail "the hygh malyce borne me, bothe for your sake, and myn nawn."

In the month of August, 1529, Kildare was at length superseded, and Sir William Skeffington sent over as Deputy to the Duke of Richmond and Somerset. He received instructions to effect, if possible, a reconciliation between Desmond, Kildare, and Ossory. The year before (29th February, 1528), the King—in the same patent which granted to Ossory and his heirs male, *in capite*, for ever, “allmanner of lands, castles, tenements, meadows, pastures, woods, and domains,” &c., which he or his heirs male could “conquer, acquire, or recover in the whole lordship or county of Ossorie, and in every parcel thereof,” then being in the possession of Irishmen, and to which the King, or any of his faithful subjects, had no claim—bestowed on him also the offices of Seneschal, Constable, and Governor of the Castle of Dungarvan, on condition that he should drive out the Earl of Desmond, who held the same by intrusion. The King’s recommendation to Skeffington was not, therefore, likely to have much force with Desmond; and how little his exertions availed with Kildare appears by a letter written from Kilkenny on January 2, 1532, in which Ossory complains to Crumwell that Kildare still bore him “rancour and malice, ymagyning, by all his studye and power, to subplante and utterly confounde” him. He insinuates that Kildare had induced Boleyne, now Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde, to give him a lease of Arklow, Tullow, and other Butler castles “the veray keyes of cuntrey,” whereby Kildare “might with strenght of his Irishe alyes,” destroy him, “and wyne all the cuntry from the King to him silf” —haughtily adding:—“For myn awne parte, I feare nothing thErle of Kildare, for all his pompe, and rumoure of his power; assuring you, that the Kinges Grace beeing gracious and indyfferent unto me, yf thErle of Kildare wol execute his malice against me, I wol bee alwayes reddey to answer a certain nombre to like nombre, or powere to power, in the felde, or els by featis of warre, after the custume of this cuntrey, at his awne chewsing”^a.

Ossory enclosed in this letter a paper to be shown by Crumwell to the King, in which he says that he had attended Skeffington in a hosting against

^a Wolsey being now no more, Ossory had pitched on Crumwell to supply his place. It appears by this letter that their friendship was not of long standing, and Crumwell is promised a “hobby” by the next vessel sailing for England. There is preserved in the British Mu-

seum (Cotton. MSS., Titus, B. 11, fol. 408) a letter of Ossory’s to his servant, Walter Cowley, then in England, written in 1535, in which he says:—“I doe send at this tyme three goss-hawkes, an oldeand twoo yunge hawkes, whereof I will that Master Secretary [Crumwell] doe

A. D. 1529.
State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 148.
Rot. Pat., 27
Hen. VIII., m.
xv., 5., in Canc.
Hibn.

A. D. 1532.
State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 158.

O'Neill, "notwithstanding the longe distansyng of 140 myles from my habita-
cion to the said O'Nele's cuntrey; and to serve the King, brought with me a
better company then thErl of Kildare brought, with all his Irishe Alyes and
adherentes; and was at myn awne cost and charge, all the tyme of the vyage."
This paper is full of charges against Kildare, of which the two following must
serve as specimens:—

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
pp. 157, 158.

"Item, where the Baron of Brant Church^a, Knight for the shire of Kilkenny, beeing
going towards the Kinges Parlement to Dublyn, was takyn by thErl of Kildares ser-
vaunt and norishe, callyd M^cEncrosse, within the countie of Kildare, at the gates of the
said Erles aune manour of Castleldermot. And the Baron was conveyed
further into the herte of the countie of Kildare, to a castell callyd Beerdys Castell, and
yrons brought out of the said Erles awne manour of Kylkaa to make faste the Baron;
where he was kepte a longe season, notwithstanding sundry requestis and injuncions of the
Deputie to the said Erle and malefactour, unto suche tyme as I prosecutid the cause upon
the malefactour and his complicis, to their peynes and damagis irrecuperable; having
with me suche a company, as, if thErl of Kildare wolde have interruptid me with his
power, which as I was enfourmyd, his purpose was to doo, yif he shuld have founde me
reddy to abyde him, without reculyng." "And fynally the Baron lost his horse,
his mony, and apparail without restitucyon. Item, semblably, the burgessis of
the towne of Kilkenny, retournyng homewardest from the Parlement^b, were takin by thErl
of Kildaris trusty servaunt, called Moriart M^cWony, Baron, at the gates of the said Erles
towne of Athye, in the countie of Kildare; and the malefactour wissed that he had the
King in the ende of a hand lokk, and the Deputie in the other ende, as fast and suere as
he had the said burgessis; like as OConour said before. And imediately the malefactour
roode to the Erle of Kildare, uppon oon of the said burgessis horsis, and had leysery
comynycacion with the said Erle. Whereof ensued, that the burgessis were straitly kept
in dures within the countie of Kildare, unto suche tyme as they were fayne to make fyne
and rainsome, whiche they have payed in reddy mony, besydes the retaynyng of their
horses, jewelles, mony, and apparail."

choose two hawke, and that my lord chaunceller
[Audley], may have the third hawke, and that
as few know therof as you may, and specially
that my Lord of Wilshere know not thereof."

^a A branch of the Fitzgeralds, descended from
the Black Knight, were styled Barons of Brant
Church, now Burnchurch, four miles west of

Kilkenny, where their castle yet stands.

^b This Parliament is not noticed by Irish his-
torians. Ossory, writing to the Earl of Wilt-
shire, says that he attended it in Dublin, where
he continued seven weeks, spending much more
than his ordinary revenue would maintain.—
State Papers, vol. ii., part iii., p. 154, *nota*.

“Men thinke here,” the paper concludes, “that all the perchement and wex in England wol not bring thErl of Kildare thidder agayne.”

About Easter, 1532, Kildare, notwithstanding Ossory's predictions, went to England, and, having cleared himself with the King, returned as Deputy in Skeffington's place. On the 5th of the following July, Ossory saw his eldest son, Lord James Butler, made Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, “perhaps so designed,” says Ware, “to balance the *Geraldine* Faction.” Toward the end of the year Ossory lost his third son, Thomas Butler, in a petty fray with the Tanist of Macgillpatrick. The Four Masters tell us that he “was slain in Ossory by Dermot Mac Gillpatrick, who was heir to the lordship of Ossory.” It appears, however, by a document extant in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, the substance of which will be found in the subjoined note^a, that the Tanist was only an accessory to the deed, which Lord James Butler lays to the charge of Kildare's followers as the chief actors. Bryan Macgillpatrick, who had married Margaret, Ossory's eldest daughter, was, as the sequel proved, anxious to convert his Celtic chieftainship into an hereditary English barony. His brother, and Tanist or successor according to the Irish law of the “best

A. D. 1532.
*Ware's Annals
of Ireland*, sub
anno.

Four Masters,
vol. v., p. 1407.

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 171.

^a “To All, &c. Please it yo^r to be adu^tised that the xxiiijth day of September, the xxvth yere of the Reigne of King Henry the viiith. The right hono^rable Piers, Erle of Ossorye, brought before vs, Nicholas Wise, mai^or of the citie of Waterford, and the prevey counsaile of the same, Nicholas bishope of Waterford and Lysmore, and Milis, bishope of Ossorye, certain Witnesses and proves, whose depositions he desirid vs to examyn and here, vpon the assaulte made vpon the Lorde James Butler & his brethern, and the murdring of his son, Thomas butler: at whose request we pcedid to the saide examination. And firste the saide Lorde James Butler, solempnly sworne vpon the holy Evangelies, deposid that a certain Irishman, callid Dermot mac gillipatrik, comyttid certain injuries, spoiles, and burnyng^f to the saide Erle and Lorde James, wheruppon the saide Lord James w^t his brethern as [and] a certaine company, such as he thought

competent for that purpose, having noo man[?] of mystrust of the Erle of Kildare, went to prosecute the saide hurt^f, to a towne of the said Dermot^f callid Ballykeely in Ossorye. And being there of power to haue destrued the said Dermot^f cornes and woddes, thedthre came mac gillipatrik, chief capitaine of that countrey, & brothre to the saide Dermot, by pcurement of Dermot, as he thinkith, desiring the Lorde James to forberre the destruction of the saide cornes and woddes, and he wolde bring his brothre, the saide Dermot, to agree wth the saide Lorde James, wheruppon the same Lorde James wolde suffre noo hurte to be done, but sent the saide m^gillipatrik and othres to mete the saide Dermot at a certain place, where the saide mac gillipatrik, abiding the comyng of Dermot, did see comyng in great hast the Erle of Kildare is hoste, whiche approached him so nere that he was fayne to avoide ther comyng, and sent a horsman to the Lorde

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 162.

Id., p. 168.

and worthiest," was in the way; hence his extradition to the Red Earl, "by whom," say the Four Masters, "he was fettered in revenge of his son, and of every other misdeed which Dermot had committed against him up to that time." That Dermot was kept "in paynfull dures," we learn by a letter written to Crumwell on December 21, 1532, by Cowley, who opines that the enraged father would "pley a good shirriffes part in putting in execucion the Kinges pleasure," for the "pitious murdering" of his son, "whoo, for his tyme and age, flouring in vertue, noblenes, and chivalrie, fer passid any other within that lande."

James admonyshing him, how the Erle of Kildare and his hooste were sodaylye coñyng vpon them to destroye the saide Lord James, and his brethern, where they were at noo defence, having noo mystrust nor doubt of therle of Kildare, or any of his hooste, advising them to departe; wherunto the saide Lorde James wolde geve noo credence having soo ferme confidence and trust in the Erle of Kildare; and incontynently the saide m'gillipatrik himself came hastily ryding, crying vpon the Lorde James to departe, saying that the Erle of Kyldare, and his hooste, were coñyng vpon him w^t all violence affermyng that he had seen and knowen diuerse of the Erle of Kildare's counsailloures and chief captaignes in the forwarde, coñyng most hastily ryding, and were at the hande; and then the Lorde James gaddred his company, and declarid to them, that the Erle of Kildare in that coñyng had broken his faithe and othe, for he promysed faithfully in p'sence of the King and his counsaile in England, and also apartely privatly did swere to the saide Lorde James that he wolde mayntene noo Irishman against him, albe it he wolde geve forbering to the King's deputie, and soo the saide Lorde James and his company recuylid to ther owne countre, and the Erle of Kildare's hoost folowed them, *and made suche haste, that thei overtoke Thomas Butler, being in the rerpart of his cōpany, and fell vpon him being*

allone, and threwe him downe from his horse, and most cruelly mured him. Wheruppon the Lorde James, hering that his brother was behynde, returned, thynking to rescowe him, and in issuing oute of a little pase of wodde the Erle of Kildare's horsmen encountred him, threw at him, and strake him w^t great speares, and had nere vnhorsed hym, and then he brake vpon them, fynding his brothre m'dred, and chasid the m'derers, and slew parte of them, till thei were drywen to ther stales, wher was the Erle of Kildare's brothre, James, f' gerald, Shan is son, w^t the Erle of Kildare's Galloglaghes and kern, and many horsmen, who rescued the m'derers. Weruppon the Lord James and his companye gave over ther chase and retornyd. And then the Erle of Kildare's hoost burnyd a towne of the Erle of Ossorye's callid Kilferikin, and returned streight into the countie of Kildare, and went to the Erle of Kildare's p'sence, and eu^sithnes haue bene conversaunt w^t him inasmuche favor as before without any punyshment or worde said to them for that offence. Which saide Lorde James hath deposid by his saide othe all the p'misses to be true, and if nede requyre woll be redy to prove the same by bat-taile of his bodye. Item, m'gillipatrik, chiefe capitain of his nation, the secunde witness agreeth w^t the saide Lorde James in all p^ymyses, affermyng that he was present, seyng

Kildare made use of his official power to wreak his vengeance on the Butlers. He sent his brother to invade their country, and was present himself^a at the plundering of Kilkenny, and the slaughter of its inhabitants. These and other enormities having been laid to his charge, he was summoned to England by the King, and sailed in the February of 1534, leaving, unfortunately for himself and party, his hot-headed son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, his Deputy in Ireland. Ossory also repaired to England to press his charges against Kildare, and watch his own interests, and we find him in attendance at court about Whitsuntide. On the last day of May he entered into indentures with the King, binding himself and his son, Lord James, to support Skeffington, who was again appointed Lord Deputy in the room of Kildare, by every means in their power, "both in jopardie of their bodies to dethe, spending of the rentes of their landes, and all their goodes," not to "make," or maintain the making, of "eny Irishe lorde or capitaigne, as of Macmorgho, Omore, Ochonour, OKarraile, and suche other like," without the Deputy's assent; engaging also to resist "the Bishshop of Roomes usurped jurisdiction, mayntaigning also, and assistyng the Kinges Deputie, and all his officers, for repressing therof, according to the statutes therupon provided," and "to practise with all others, and enduce them, asmoch as they possible may, to doo likewise"^b. The King, "in respecte of

A. D. 1533.
Campion's *Historie of Ireland*,
p. 117, first
edition.

A. D. 1534.
State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 183, note.

Id., pp. 193,
194-97.

all the circumstance of the p^rmysse, adding more, that att suche tyme as the saide m^rderers came to the p^rsence of the Erle of Kildare, s^m men thought he wolde haue punysshed them, he rathre reioiced at the said murdre, rebuking the saide m^rderers because thei had not done more vengeance, calling them faynt coward^r that did not complete a notable greate feate, worthy of thanks, and to be putt in memorye." [Lord James then names the followers of the Earl of Kildare, whom he saw present; and Richard Butler, "son to the saide Erle of Ossory," Shane Mac Ricard, horseman, servant to O'More, the Baron of Brownesforde, the Baron Grace, James fitz Piers, Fitz James ooge Butler, and Thomas fitz Piers Butler, deposed that they were present, and confirmed Lord James Butler's testimony, as did also Piers Clynton, who deposed, in addi-

tion, "that he was next vnto the Lorde James at yesyng oute of the wodde, where the saide Lorde James was encountred w^t speares throwe, and stryken, where the same Piers had diu^rs speares throwe at himselfe in likewise."] "In witness wherof, aswele the saide maio^r, as the saide Bishopes to these p^rsent testimoniall^r haue sett ther seales the day and yeare above saide." The document, evidently drawn up to be given as evidence against Kildare, had originally three seals appended to it, but of these only that of the Bishop of Waterford, much mutilated, remains.

^a Ware relates the foraying of the Butler's country, but does not mention the assault on Kilkenny.—*Annals*, sub anno.

^b Cox, who post-dates this agreement by a year, says it is the first instance of an engage-

contynuall truthe, whiche alwaies hath contynued in hym, and his bludde, to the Crowne of England," being "contented that the said Erle, and his sonne, shall have the leading and governaunce under his Grace, and his heires, his Lieutenaunte, and Deputie, of his subjectes and inhabitauntes of the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Waterford, and the countie of Ossorie and Ormond."

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
pp. 197, 198.

Whilst Ossory was in England, Robert Cowley^a wrote to Crumwell, with the news of the Geraldine revolt, adding that Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, with his "bretherne, kynesmen, and adherents, doo make their avaunte and booste, that they bee of the Pope's secte and bande." Thus in religion—as in all other

Id., p. 205.

matters—the rival houses took opposite sides. Ossory seems to have returned to Ireland before the end of the year, and he and his son did good service against the rebels; indeed, Allen tells Crumwell that affairs would have been desperate "if the Erle of Ossorie, and the castel of Dublin had given over."

Id., p. 224.

*Chronicles of
Ireland*, p. 91.

Stanihurst's account of the efforts made by Lord Thomas to inveigle his cousin, Lord James Butler, into rebellion is told with his usual quaintness, but is so well known that it need not be repeated here; neither can we do more than

Id., pp. 92, 93.

allude to the surprise and defeat of Ossory's party at Jerpoint, where Lord James Butler was wounded, and with difficulty escaped to Dunmore, near Kilkenny. Stanihurst's statement receives confirmation from a paper sent to Walter Cowley by Ossory, to be laid before the King. The only discrepancy being, that Lord Thomas makes proposals to Ossory himself, instead of to his son, promising to "devyde all Irlande with him, and accept him as his father, offering to make particion of his awne enheritaunce with him." The following is Ossory's account of the skirmish at Jerpoint:—

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
pp. 249-56.

"ThErle of Ossory came to Thomaston, to devise howe to assaulte the traictors in the night, and thought howe to devise, howe to ley ordynaunce to shot at theym; and so in

ment to resist the Bishop of Rome which he has met with.—*Hibn. Anglicana*, part i., p. 241.

^a Robert Cowley is stated by Stanihurst to have been one of the four principal enemies of Kildare, and to have been "well esteemed of the ladie Margaret countesse of Ossorie, as one by whose aduise she was in hir affaires directed."—*Chronicles of Ireland*, p. 89. Kildare, once seeing Cowley pretend to weep at the misfortunes

which he was instrumental in bringing on him, observed:—"He is like a pluertaker [plover-taker] in settinge his snares, & waytinge for his desired purpos, his eyes beinge agaynst the wind, & the watter droppinge out; so many plue's [plovers] as he takithe, he nepythe ther braynes out w^t his thoumbe not w^t standing his watrye teres of cōtemplacion: even lyke dothe M^r Coule w^t me."—*Book of Howth*.

that devyses were trappyd by the traictors, in which incontre the said Erles son, James, woundid O'Mores son, and unhorsid others, and was sore woundid^a him self, soo that with great happ he ever escaped the dethe."

To follow Ossory in his important services against "Silken" Thomas would exceed the limits we have set to ourselves; the details will be found in the published State Papers, Carte's "Ormonde," and other authorities. We pass on to the conclusion of the Geraldine revolt. "Silken" Thomas had surrendered himself to his cousins, Lord Leonard Grey and Lord James Butler, "to be ordered concernyng his lyf, and otherwise," as should please the King; and his ancient enemy, Lord James, at the head of the Irish Privy Council, prays that Henry "wold be mercyfull to the said Thomas, especially concernyng his lyf." The prayer was not granted; and we have reason to believe that both Grey and Butler found themselves aggrieved by the non-fulfilment of the promises made by them to their unfortunate relative, on the part of the Irish Govern-
State Papers, vol. ii., part iii., p. 275.
Stanihurst's Chron. of Ire-land, p. 96.
State Papers, vol. ii., part iii., p. 277.

ment. Norfolk, with that good faith which made him beloved by all parties when in Ireland, was opposed to the execution of Lord Thomas, chiefly, he writes to Crumwell, because, if it took place, "my Lord Leonard, and my Lord Buttlter, shuld for ever lose their credight in Irlond, wiche wer pite."

Ossory had now reached the culminating point of his prosperous and active career. He was acknowledged by the Council of Ireland as the saviour of the kingdom; his opponents were prostrate in the dust; he saw his son and heir, in addition to his other honours, created Viscount Thurles and Admiral of Ireland; and, to crown all, Henry having by Act of Parliament resumed the Irish estates of the heirs general of Earl Thomas into his own hands, and the Boleyne Earldom of Ormonde having become extinct by the death of the unhappy father of his murdered Queen, the ancient Butler estates in the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Carlow, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Wexford, Waterford, and Wicklow, were granted to Ossory and his heirs male for ever^b. At the Parliament held in
A. D. 1585.
Id., p. 301.
Cox Hibn. Anglicana, part i., p. 240.
Archdall's Lodge's Peerage, vol. iv., p. 20.
A. D. 1587, October 28.

^a He was wounded by Kedaghe Roe, "the eldist and best" of O'More's sons.—*State Papers*, vol. iii., part iii., pp. 24, 25, 33.

^b This grant was made to "Pierce Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory"—thus recognising

the former title before it was formally restored to him.—Lynch's *Feudal Baronies*, p. 87. There is preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, an Act of the Deputy and Council of Ireland, embodying a Statute, to be passed at the

*Unpublished
Statutes,
28 Hen. VIII.,
c. 6.*

A. D. 1538.

Dublin the same year, Ossory took care that his own hereditary rights should be cleared from all doubt. On his petition, an Act was passed repealing the Statute of the 7th Edward IV., which made legitimate his two brothers begotten before espousals, the same being, as the subsequent Act states, in derogation of the lawful heirs of James Butler and Sawe his wife, begotten after espousals. On the 22nd of the following February the ancient and much-coveted Earldom of Ormonde was restored to him ; and he thus found himself at the head of Ireland's nobility, high in the favour of his King, every plan accomplished, and every wish fulfilled.

See p. 187,
supra.

A. D. 1538.
*State Papers,
vol iii., part iii.,
p. 72.*

*Pedegree of the
House of
Ormond.*

The Earl had now more than completed his seventh decade^a, and the infirmities of age, aggravated by the hardships he had undergone during the late Geraldine revolt, began to press heavily even on that iron constitution which had stood him in such good stead during a long life of labour and energetic action in the field. In August, 1538, he is described as being "now but a consumed man," and near death. The prediction was but too well founded. He did not long survive the restoration of the earldom, having died, as his monument testifies, on the 26th of August, 1539. "The said Earle," says Lawless, "was a most honorable, plaine, & kynd Gentleman ; louing, familiar, & liberall to his freinds & followers, & a scourge and enemy to all bad people." "In all y^e course of his lyfe he was very religious & godly, and (as I haue heard by auncient men that liued in his tyme) hee vsed euery yeare (in y^e last fortnight of Lent) to retyre himselfe from all wordly businesse, and to lye dureing that time in a chambre neere S^t Kennys church, called Paradise^b, & there hee vsed his dayly prayers, & gaue almes to y^e poore, & prepared himselfe to receiue ye blessed Sacrament ; and upon Easter Eaue in y^e euening hee returned to his dwelling

next Irish Parliament, confirming this grant. It does not, however, appear to have ever received the sanction of the Legislature.

^a Lord James Butler gives us a glimpse of the still unbroken spirit of his father struggling against the decay of his bodily powers. The aged Earl had received a marked slight from the Deputy, Lord Leonard Grey (whom the Butlers accounted "the Erle of Kildare newly borne againe," and who had threatened to set their heads

on their own castles), which he took so much to heart, "that, not regarding his age and debilitie of body, all his frendes scarcely could stay him from going to the Kinges Majestie, to complaine of all the premisses, thoo he shuld be carried thether in a horsse litre."—*State Papers*, vol. iii., part iii., p. 33.

^b Probably the anchorite's cell, of which the foundations still remain at the north side of the choir.—See p. 70, *supra*.

house”^a. He was buried in the choir of the Cathedral of St. Canice, beneath a monument which he probably erected for himself and his wife during his lifetime. He made his will a few months previous to his death, whilst staying at his Castle of Pottlerath. The translation of this document, here appended, shows that, although he was not averse to resist the “Bishop of Roomes usurped jurisdiction,” yet, like Henry himself, he had not lost his faith in the doctrines of that Church of which the Roman Pontiff is the head:—

“ In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1539, on the 28th of May, at Potellrath, I Peirs Butteler Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, although sick of body, yet sound of mind, make my will in manner following:—*Imprimis*, I leave my soul to Almighty God, to the Blessed Mary the Virgin, and to the whole Celestial Court, and my body to be buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny. *Item*, I appoint and constitute my eldest son James Butler my heir. *Item*, I appoint and constitute Margaret fitz Gerald my lawful wife, James and Richard my sons, my joint executors. *Item*, I leave to my son James my best gown, and to my son Richard my second best gown. *Item*, the rest of my garments I leave to be divided between the churches and specially to the church of the Blessed Mary of Callan, and of Balligawran, according to the discretion of my supervisors and executors. *Item*, I leave to the said James my coat of mail^b, and my horse. *Item*, I leave to my son Richard my other horse. *Item*, I leave to the said James my great collar of gold. *Item*, I leave to Richard my small chain of gold. *Item*, I leave to each plough^c within the county of Kilkenny one stone of wheat.

“ The inventory or sum of my goods moveable and immoveable I leave to be made at the discretion of Margaret my wife, and of my servants and ministers, in which matter I think them conscientious, and wish that they may be so. *Item*, I will and appoint that James my son, heir, and executor, should every year cause my anniversary to be solemnly celebrated for ever in the cathedral church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, and of the Holy Trinity, Waterford, and [in the church] of the Blessed Mary of Callan, and of the Blessed Mary of Clonmel, and of St. Patrick of Cashel, and of St. John of the same, and in the church of St. John of Fethard. *Item*, I order and appoint that Richard, my second son and executor, should cause my anniversary to be solemnly celebrated for ever in the churches of

^a Robert Rothe uses the same words in his pedigree of the Ormonde Family, now in the British Museum.—Add. MSS., 4792. It is questionable which is the oldest authority.

^b “Loricam meam.” This expression confirms the view put forward in a former page, that the

chain-mail which appears below the coat of plates on his effigy is a true hauberk, and not a mere skirt of mail.

^c This bequest evinces the Earl’s anxiety to promote the spread of agriculture in his native country.

the Blessed Mary of Kilkenny and Rosponde, for my soul, the soul of my wife, and for the souls of our parents, ancestors, heirs, and successors.

“Moreover, I order and appoint Master James Clere, Dean of Ossory, Nicholas Motyng, Chancellor of the same, and Renald [Roland], Baron of Burnchurch, supervisors of this my will”^a.

^aThe administration was taken out, and a copy, under seal of the Bishop of Ossory, furnished to the executors, which is still preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, which we here subjoin, as early documents of this nature are so rare in Ireland:—

“In dei noīe Amen. Anno Dñi m^ov^oxxxix die vero mēs’ Maii xxviii, apud potellrath, Ego Petrus Butteler Comes Ormonie t’ Oss’ lic’ eger corp’ e san’ tamen mēte Condo testamētū meū in hūc qui sequitur modū.

“In primis lego aīam meā oīpotenti deo, beate marie virgini, ac tot’ Curie celesti. Corpusq’ meū sepeliendū in Ecclīa Cathedrali sancti kanici ville kylkenie. Itm̄ ordino t’ 9stituo hered’ meū Jacobū Butler filiū meū seniore. Itm̄ executores mei testamēti in p’te t’ in toto ordino ac 9stituo Margaretam fiz gerald meā legitimā vxorem Jacobū t’ Richardū meos filios [. . . .] p’ equales porcoēs. Itm̄ lego meo filio Jacobo meā meliorē togam t’ Richardo meo filio scđm meliorē togam. Itm̄ residuū meoꝝ indumentoz lego diuidi inter ecc^{ia} t’ specialit’ ecc^{ia} beate marie de Callan t’ Balligawran, scđm discrecōem supuisoz t’ executoroz meoz. Itm̄ lego dēō Jacobo meā loricam t’ meū equū. Itm̄ lego Richardo filio meo aliū meū equū. Itm̄ lego dēō Jacobo meā magnā le coller auri. Itm̄ lego Richardo meā paruā Kathenā auri aīs le chayn. Itm̄ lego cuilibet Caruce infra Comitātū Kilkennie vnū lapid’ farri.

“Inventuariū oīm bonoz meoz mobiliū t’ immobiliū seu suām relinquo faciend’ arbitrio Margarete vxoris mee ac s’uoꝝ ac ministroꝝ meoz, in qua re eoꝝ consciencias honoro

et honoratas hēri cupio. Itm̄ volo ordino t’ 9stituo q’ Jacob’ fil’ me’ heres t’ executor annuī uīsariū annuatī solenit’ imp̄petuū celebrari faciat in ecc^{ia} cathedrali sancti kanici kilkenie ac sancti T’nitat’ vat’fordie, t’ beate marie de Callan, t’ beate marie de Clonmell, ac diti Pat’cii de Caschell, sancti Johis eiusd’, ac in ecc^{ia} sancti Johis Fidardie. Itm̄ ordino ac 9stituo q’ Richard’ scđ’ fil’ me’ t’ executor solenit’ celebrari faciat meū annuī uīsariū imp̄petuū in ecc^{ia} beate marie kilkenie t’ Rosspontis p’ aīa mea vxoris mee t’ pro aīab’ parentū aīcessoꝝ hered’ t’ successoꝝ nostroꝝ.

“Supuisores vero hui’i mei testamēti ordino ac 9stituo dñm Jacobū clere, Decanū Oss’, Nicolaū Motyng, cancellariū eiusd’, ac Renald’ baronē de barnchurche.

“Et nos Milo oss’ Epūs dci dñi Petri Butler Comit’ Ormonie t’ Oss’ testamētū nobis in forma p’missa tam p’ fidedignoꝝ testiū attestacōes quam eciā de scripti recitacōe exhibitū ratificam’ infirmam’ t’ quātū nobis possibile est 9firmam’ t’ approbam’, dciis vero executorib’ scđm t’ iuxta dci dñi Petri volūtatem potestatem rite t’ certe administrandi dcā bona t’ alia quecūq’ concedim’ p’ p’sentes juramento corp’ali prius p’stito de fideli administracōe facienda t’ de compoto nobis, cū requisiti fuerint, ac eoꝝ q’lib’ requisit’ fuerit, reddendo ac foro ecclīastico nō declinando. In cui’ rei fid’ t’ testiō^a sigillū quo ad similia vtimur p’ntib’ duxim’ apponend’ p’sent’ dno nicholao mothyng cancellario sci Kanici, baroni de barnchurch, t’ dño pat’cio Aspoll.”

[Loco Sigilli.]

On the death of the Earl the rule of the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary was committed to his widow, in conjunction with her second son, Sir Richard Butler, and others. With the exception of this fact, we have been able to glean nothing more concerning the now aged Countess of Ormonde beyond what, in the subjoined letter to King Henry VIII., she tells us herself:—

Red Council Book, Mus. Brit., Addit. MS., 4790.

“Pleas it Your Mooste excellent Highnes to be advertised, that lyke as my Lord my husband, whose sowle Jhesu rest, at tymes delytid to provyde suche pleasures in this land, as sholde be acceptable to Your Majestie, soo, in semblable wise, do I recounnis my self moche boundyn to declare my hart and duetie towards Your Grace of like sorte and dispoission. And having sent unto Your Highnes, by this berrer, two goshawkys, to be delyverid unto Your Majestie as of my pore gifte, for lacke of any convenient thing, at this tyme, being in my dispoission to be presentid to Your Grace; in mooste humble wise I besече Your Highnes to accept the same in goode parte. And thus the Blissid Trinite preserve your mooste Royall Person long and tryumphauntly to reigne with moche victory. Writtin at Your Highnes Citie of Waterford the 8th of July.

A. D. 1540.
State Papers, vol. iii., part iii., p. 222.

“Your Graces moost humble boundin Subject

“M. OF ORMOND & OSS.’”

The signature of this letter is written with the trembling hand of extreme old age, and in two years more the Deputy, St. Leger, curtly announces her death to the King:—“The olde Ladie of Ormonde is deceassid.” Her monument supplies the day of the month—August 9th. “The Lady Margaret Countesse of Ormond and Ossorye,” writes Lawless, “liued some few yeeres after him [her husband], & dureing that small remainder of her lyfe shee liued most godly in contemplation & prayer, giving almes bountefully unto poore and needy people; and (at her proper costs and charges) built a scholehouse neere the churchyard of St. Kennys church”^a.

A. D. 1542.
Id., p. 411.

Pedegree of the House of Ormond.

The Countess died intestate, as appears by the letters of administration

^a Stanihurst (*Description of Ireland*, p. 27) gives an interesting account of this school, which continued to send forth many learned men, until the fabric was ruined in the civil war of 1641. From the Carte MSS. (vol. SS, fol. 278) in the Bodleian Library, we learn that a Cromwellian officer,

“Captaine John Joener, tooke away the mayne tymber of the free schoole house built by the house of Ormond in the church yard of St. Canice wherewith he built a house within a myle of Kilkenny comonly called Joeners Folly”—a name which the townland still bears.

granted to her sons, James and Richard, and dated August 12, 1542, the original of which, under seal, is preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle.

Margaret, Countess of Ormonde and Ossory,—according to a manuscript (F. 1, 21), preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, “the fairest daughter” of the Earl of Kildare,—was unquestionably one of the most remarkable women of her age and country, and proved, in every sense of the word, a “help mete” for her husband. That she bore a conspicuous part in public affairs is evident from the published State Papers which we have so frequently quoted, no less than from the writings of Campion and Stanihurst. In the management of her husband’s property she seems to have taken a lively interest. We find her name coupled with his, in hundreds of original deeds still existing amongst the Ormonde Evidences. She is described by a contemporary writer as—“Manlike and tall of stature, verie liberall and bountifull, a sure friend, a bitter enimie, hardlie disliking where she fansied, not easilie fansieng where she disliked: the onelie meane at those daies whereby hir husband his countrie was reclaimed from sluttishnesse and slouenrie, to cleane bedding and ciuilitie.” “The s^d Earle & Countesse,” writes Lawless, “planted greate ciuility in y^e countyes of Tipperary & Kilkenny, & to giue good example to y^e people of that country, brought out of Flanders & other countreyes diuerse Artificers, who were daiely kept at worke by them in theyr Castle of Kilkenny, where they wrought, and made, Diaper, Tapistrey^a, Turkey-carpetts, Cushions, & other like workes, whereof some doe remayne as yett with y^e Earl of Ormond.”

Stanihurst's
*Chronicles of
Ireland*, p. 85.

*Pedegree of
the House of
Ormond.*

The Earl’s anxiety to promote the spread of agriculture is proved by the bequest of one stone of wheat to the owner of every plough in the county of Kilkenny; and it appears from the “Presentments” of 1536 that he employed a large number of masons in his “buildings,” whom, however, the Jury of the gentlemen of the county accuse him of quartering on the public. Like all the nobles of the Anglo-Norman race, he was fond of the chase. He kept a pack of sixty deer-hounds, of the famous Irish greyhound class, besides separate packs of dogs to hunt the hare and the martin; his studs of horses were also numerous: all which, with the necessary attendants and horseboys, were maintained in turn by his tenants and other dwellers in the county of Kilkenny,

*MSS., State
Paper Office.*

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 121.

^a See *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæol. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 5.

“fully,” as the Presentments already quoted say, “agenst the myndes of the saide inhabitauntes.” These exactions were, however, the fashion of the time, and do not prove the chief of the Butlers to have been more oppressive than the other nobles, both Anglo-Norman and Celtic, of the land. But, large as is the place filled by the “Red Earl” in the history of Ireland, it is a singular fact that in the traditions of the peasantry of Kilkenny his existence is utterly forgotten, whilst his consort stands vividly forth as “the Countess,” or oftener as plain *Μαργαρέα Τερονιο*^a, forming, with “Cromwell” and the “Danes,” a triad to whom almost everything marvellous, cunning, or cruel, is attributed. She is the traditional *builder*, as Cromwell is the traditional *destroyer*, of nearly every castle in the district; and, by the peasant’s fireside, numberless are the tales told of her power, her wisdom, and—truth compels us to add—her oppressions^b.

[22.] *Om̄nib⁹ orāe d̄ncam cū salutatione angelica p̄ aīab⁹ reb̄endī p̄ris d̄avid̄ dei grā ep̄i oss⁹ ac m̄tī thome myghel ut⁹usq⁹ iuris baccalarīi offi^{lis} oss⁹ ac isti⁹ et cass⁹ eccliar⁹ cano^{ci} q̄ⁱ h̄^c jac⁹ ac thome hakkede burgēs⁹ bille kylkeⁱ deuoⁿ dicitib⁹ toties qu^ociēs CCC dies idulgēcie 9cedunt⁹.*

Hic iacet Nichola⁹ Hakhed quōdā burgēs⁹ bille Kilkēnie filius & heres p̄fati thome hakkhed q̄ⁱ obiit [] die mēs⁹ [] anno domini millisimo cccc.⁹ xx []. Et margareta Archer uxor eiusdē nichī q̄ obiit xxix die mēs⁹ ap̄lis A.⁹ d̄i m^o cccc^o xxviii q̄ r⁹ aīab⁹ p̄piciet⁹ de⁹ aē.

TRANSLATION:—Four hundred days’ indulgence are granted to all devoutly saying the Lord’s Prayer and the Angelical Salutation for the souls of the reverend father, David, by the grace of God bishop of Ossory; and of Master Thomas Myghel, bachelor in both laws, official of Ossory, and canon of this church and of Cashel, who lie here; and of Thomas Hakkede, burgess of the town of Kilkenny.

Here lieth Nicholas Hakhed, formerly burgess of the town of Kilkenny, son and heir of the aforesaid Thomas Hakhed, who died on the [] day of the month of [] A.D. m.cccc.xx[]. And Margaret Archer, wife of the same Nicholas, who died on the 29th day of the month of April, A.D. m.cccc.xxviii; on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen.

^a The Irish for the Countess’s maiden name. of these traditions. We have heard scores of

^b See Shee’s *St. Canice*, p. 48, for a specimen of them from the peasantry ourselves.

See p. 86, *supra*.

MSS., Trin.
Coll., Dubl.,
F. 4, 24, fol. 13.

A plain altar-tomb, in its original position, near the west end of the south side aisle, where it was examined by Molyneux in the seventeenth century. The table bears a segmental cross and bands, and the inscription is in the Old English letter—all in relief.

Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.
A. D. 1489.

The Bishop of Ossory alluded to in the inscription was David Hackett, who built the vault of the belfry. The circumstance of his being thus named on the tomb of the Hackett family may be taken as proof that this prelate was a Kilkenny-man. The Master Thomas Myghel, or, as his name is sometimes written, Myell, referred to in the inscription, was a canon of the cathedral of St. Canice and Vicar-General of the diocese of Ossory at the end of the fifteenth century. Nicholas Hackett, or Hackhed, was sovereign of Kilkenny in 1526 and 1534. He appears to have erected the monument on the death of his first wife, Margaret Archer, in 1528; but he very soon after formed another matrimonial alliance, as an entry in the *Liber Primus Kilkennie*, dated May 1, 1530, sets out the terms of a grant then made by "that honest and discreet man, Nicholas Hackett, burgess of Kilkenny," to the Vicars of the Common Hall, of a messuage with its appurtenances in the town, in perpetual alms. The conditions of the grant were, that the Vicars and their successors should observe the anniversary of the donor, as also of Master John Cantwell, precentor of the cathedral, and of Margaret Archer and Johanna Knaresborough, the wives of the aforesaid Nicholas Hackett, and the anniversaries of their parents and heirs. However, should the Vicars or their successors neglect this duty, the property was to pass to the Corporation of the town, for public purposes. The legal records of the year 1536 mention Nicholas Hackett and his wife, Johanna Knaresborough, as still living, John Hackett, burgess of Kilkenny, being the son and heir of the former. In the Irishtown presentment of 1537 Nicholas Hackett was denounced as a "Gray Merchant."

Unarranged
Pleadings of
Chancery,
vol. iii., p. 49;
28 Hen. VIII.
MSS., State
Paper Office.

[23.] capitaneus turbatorū comitis ormonie
qⁱ obiit quarto die nouēbris A^o dī m^occcc^oxlīx^o. & Ellena gras ux' ei⁹ A^o dī m^occcc^o
[].

TRANSLATION:— captain of the Earl of Ormonde's light troops, who died the 4th day of November, in the year of our Lord m.ccccc.xlix. And Ellen Gras, his wife, A.D. m.ccccc. [].

A fragment of a floor-slab, the upper half of which is ornamented with the arms of the Passion. On the lower part of the tomb was sculptured a miniature effigy of a man in armour, in low relief, of which the bust only now remains. The armour precisely resembles that represented on the tomb of Piers, Earl of Ormonde, already described, except that in this case there is no bascinet, the head being bare, and the hair cropped closely. The inscription, in raised Old English characters, ran round the edge of the slab, and it appears to have been quite perfect when O'Phelan compiled his catalogue of the monuments, in the middle of the last century. In O'Phelan's manuscript it is thus given:—
 “*Hic jacet Edmundus Pursell capitaneus turbariorum comitis ormonie qui obiit quarto die nobembris anno domini mccccxlix, et Ellena Gras uxor eius q^e obiit a^o dⁱ mcccc.*”
 Although O'Phelan certainly did not copy the inscription with literal exactness, yet there can be no reason to doubt that he gave correctly the name of the person for whom it was carved, as we find that there was an Edmund Purcell filling the position of one of the captains of the kerns of Piers Earl of Ormonde at the period. He is complained of more than once as an oppressor of the people of the district, in the Kilkenny presentments of 1537. In the “verdyt of the Commyners of the Towne of Kylkenny” the following paragraph occurs:—

*MSS., State
Paper Office.*

“Item, they do present that Garrard Fytzpiers, Captayn of my Lorde of Ostreys Kernetihge, Edmund Purcell, Edmund Gangher, with ther felowes, and Edmund Butler Fytzthomas and Rychard Forstall, do enforce peoplle whiche arre Inhabitauntes in the countrey, to prepare and ordeigne mete for ther dynner and suppers, and wyll paye no money therefor.”

Again we find him somewhat similarly charged in the “verdyt of the Commyners of the Countye of Kilkennye,” but by an error of the scribe his name is written “Purser.” The passage is as follows:—

“Item, the saide Jurye present that the saide Lorde of Ostrey hathe 2 severall compaynes of Kernes going quarterly, that is to saye, eche of them 4^{or} tymes of the yere over all the countrey from one towne to another, and leave none, and ther take mete and drynke withoute paying therfore; and wher they lack mete they take money. And Edmund Purser and William Purser brethren, ar Captaynes of the one Kerne, and Robert Astyken and Jamys Astyken ar Captaynes of thother kernes ”

The wife of the captain of kerns was probably a member of the important family of Grace, of Courtstown, and she seems to have outlived him, and to have erected the tomb to his memory, as the date of her decease is left unfinished in the inscription.

[24.] **Hic Jacent Adam cottrell Jacob^o cottrell Ricard^o lawles et walter^o lawles cu ei⁹ uxore leticia c^ourcy quōdā burgēs⁹ bīlle Kilkentie ac dñi de Talbott is Inche qⁱ Walter^o obiit sc̄dō die mēs⁹ decēbris a^o dⁱ m^occcc^o qⁱ nq^a g^{mo} quor⁹ ātab⁹ p⁹piciet⁹ de⁹ amē.**

Hic Jacet Ricd^o lawles filius et heres dicti walteri qui obiit bi die mēs⁹ octobris a^o dñi. m^o.cccc^o.liii^o.

Hic Jacet Jacob^o lawles frater et heres Ricdⁱ lawles filii et heredis Walteri lawles qⁱ obiit uli^o die Julii a^o dñi m^occcc^olxii^o cui⁹ aīe p⁹piciet⁹ de⁹ amē Et Adam lawles qⁱ obiit xx^o die octobris 1600 Et Leticia Shee uxor ei⁹ qⁱ obiit 5 die octobr⁹ mcccc^olxxvi.

Credo qđ redēptor me⁹ usuit & in nobissimo die de t^{ra} surrectur⁹ su Et i carne mea vīdebo deū saluatorē meū Quē vīsur⁹ sū ego ipse & non ali⁹ & oculi mei conspecturi sūt.

TRANSLATION:—Here lie Adam Cottrell, James Cottrell, Richard Lawles, and Walter Lawles, with his wife Letitia Courcy, formerly burgesses of the town of Kilkenny, and lords of Talbott's Inche; which Walter died on the 2nd day of the month of December, in the year of our Lord m.ccccc.l.; on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen.

Here lieth Richard Lawles, the son and heir of the aforesaid Walter, who died on the 6th day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord m.ccccc.liii.

Here lieth James Lawles, brother and heir of Richard Lawles, son and heir of Walter Lawles, who died on the last day of July, in the year of our Lord m.ccccc.lxii., on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen. And Adam Lawles, who died the 20th day of October, 1600. And Letitia Shee, his wife, who died the 5th day of October, [m].cccc.lxxvi.

I believe that my Redeemer liveth, &c.

A large slab, which, although at present set level with the floor, appears to have been originally the covering stone of an altar-tomb. At the angles it was carved with floriated Early English ornaments, but the two on the left side have been broken away. There is also a projection at the centre of the head

and foot of the stone, in each of which a chamber is sunk, as if for the purpose of supporting candlesticks. The first inscription—itsself three centuries later than the monumental stone on which it is cut—runs round the verge of the slab: the others, which belong to various periods subsequent to the appropriation of the monument, take different directions, filling up all the vacant space which could be found for them. The quotation from the Latin Vulgate fills a scroll which forms a circle at the top of the tomb, and thence hangs in wavy folds on either side. Within the circle is placed the sacred monogram, **IES**, adorned with elaborately interlaced flourishes; beneath which are two hands uplifted, holding a heart. The inscriptions are in many places, much worn, and difficult to be deciphered.

In noticing the tombs of the Talbot family, in the previous centuries, we alluded to the fact of their proprietorship having given name to the townland of Talbot's Inch, near the city of Kilkenny. It may be conjectured that that property came to the Cotterells through a marriage with an heiress of the Talbot family, who seem to have died out in the male line early in the fifteenth century; but, be this as it may, we have documentary proof of a subsequent marriage of a Cotterell heiress with a Lawless, which again brought Talbot's Inch under a new proprietorship, and this connexion accounts for the tomb being inscribed to both these families. The Cotterells* were seated, at a very early period, at Kells, in the county of Kilkenny, the head of the family holding the lands of Killinny, near that town, by feudal service from the Le Poers, Barons of Kells. In the Lord Eustace Le Poer's rash rebellion, in 1345, Sir John Cotterell shared his fortunes, and was taken, and hanged with him and Sir William Graunt, after the siege of Castleisland, in Kerry, by the Justiciary of Ireland, Ralph Ufford. However, his relative, Walter Fitz-William Cotterell, of Kells, who appears to have been a lawyer by profession, proved a more faithful subject of the King of England, and was rewarded with many public offices. In 1359 he was one of eleven persons deputed by the Crown to collect, in the liberty and town of Kilkenny, a subsidy granted towards carrying on the

Pembridge, sub anno.

Rot. Claus., 38 Ed. III., m. 84.

*The mercenary troops of the Middle Ages were sometimes called Coterelli, it is said, from the coterel, or large knife, which was one of their weapons.—See *Notes and Queries*, Second Series,

vol. ii., p. 499. The Anglo-Irish family of Cotterell may have been descended from some one of these mercenaries, who found his way into Ireland, and settled there.

Rot. Claus., 46 Ed. III., m. 129, 130, *dorso*.
Id., 48 Ed. III., m. 123, *dorso*.
Rot. Pat., 49 Ed. III., m. 276.
Id., m. 264.

war against Art M'Morough. In 1372 he received a writ, and in 1374 we find him acting as sheriff of the Cross, or church lands, in the same county of Kilkenny. The next year he was appointed, with three other persons—of whom two should form a quorum, provided Walter Cotterell was one—justice for a gaol delivery at Waterford ; and he was also nominated to receive from the collectors, for the king, a subsidy, voted by Parliament to be levied from the clergy and laity of the diocese of Ossory and Ferns, as their contribution to a subsidy of 400 marks, from Munster, Kilkenny, and Wexford. The same year, in pursuance of a writ sent for the purpose to the seneschal of the Liberty, and sheriff of the Cross of Kilkenny, Walter Fitz-William Cotterell, of Kells, in conjunction with Gefrey Forstall, was elected to represent the county of Kilkenny in a Great Council, summoned by the King to meet him in England, and there consult with him on the affairs of Ireland. In 1382 we have him filling the position of sergeant-at-law, and receiving 100*s.* on account of his fee. In 1388 he was appointed to act as justice for the county of Kilkenny; and the year following, on his petition, the king granted him permission to pass over to the Court of Rome, from whence he probably never returned, as we find no further mention of his name in the public records. His son, William Fitz-Walter Cotterell, appears to have settled in the town of Kilkenny towards the end of the fourteenth century. In 1383 that name is found in the Corporation records upon the roll of burgesses; and in the previous year William Lawless was commissioned, with two others, to assess, on the town and Liberty of Kilkenny, the sum necessary for the procuring and maintenance of twenty archers, which the inhabitants had agreed to raise, at their own expense, for half a year, for the common defence. This William was probably the father of the Adam, and grandfather of the James Cotterell of the monument under consideration. In 1484 Adam Cotterell paid three pence as his proportion of the fee of the portreve of Kilkenny; and in 1457 he was himself a member of the Corporation of that municipality, and one of the “upper twelve,” or chief members of the Council. James Cotterell appears to have been the son of Adam, and to have married his daughter Isabel to the first Richard Lawless of the monument, leaving them his property. A curious entry with reference to a portion of the bequest is still extant amongst the Minutes of the Corporation of Kilkenny. The original is in Latin, to the following effect:—

Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i., p. 382.

Rot. Pat., 5 Ric. II., *secunda pars*, m. 85.
Id., 12 Ric. II., m. 132.
Id., 18 Ric. II., m. 116.

Liber Primus Kilkenniae, sub an. 7 Ric. II.

Rot. Pat. 5 Ric. II., m. 171.

Liber Primus Kilkenniae, sub an. 27 Hen. VI.
Id., sub an. 36 Hen. VI.

Id., fol. 46.

MEMORANDUM.—That James Cottrell left all the messuages and tenements, with the gardens annexed, from the house in which Johanna Felle dwells, to the garden of the Vicars of the Common Hall, as he appointed in order, to the said Richard Lawles and Isabella Cottrell, except the house which the same Richard built, so that the aforesaid Richard and Isabella, their heirs and assigns, should, every year, solemnly celebrate his anniversary in the church of St. Canice; but if they should be negligent in doing so, that then it shall be lawful for the sovereign of Kilkenny for the time being, and for the burgesses and commons of the town aforesaid, to levy and receive the aforesaid stipend, and convert it to the use of the commons of the town. Also he left the aforesaid Richard and Isabella Cottrell, their heirs and assigns, for ever, the houses which Edmond Vale held in farm, to support the anniversary aforesaid.

This entry is not dated, but that which precedes it in the Book of the Corporation bears date 14 Henry VII., 1498.

The family of Lawless is said to be descended from Sir Hugh de Lawless, one of the four hundred knights who attended King Henry II. to Ireland. He settled at Shanganagh, county of Dublin, and his immediate successors are to be found amongst the lists of chief magistrates and magnates of the metropolitan city. The first of the name whom we find settled in Kilkenny was Walter Lawless, who, as a merchant of the town, was, for a fine of fifteen silver shillings, admitted as burgess in 1396; and he may have been the father of Richard, who married Isabella Cotterell, and succeeded to her paternal property. Their son Walter, who appears from the monument to have espoused Letitia Courcy, was portreve of Kilkenny in 1526, and sovereign of the town in 1545. In 1537 he was presented by the Jury of the Irishtown of Kilkenny as a "grey merchant", and forestaller, who interfered with the legitimate trade of that borough for his private emolument. Of Walter's sons, Richard and James, we do not find any mention in the public records, but of the successors

*Fitzpatrick's
Life, Times, &c.,
of Lord Clon-
curry.*

*Liber Primus
Kilkenniae.*

*Connell's Book,
Ormonde MSS.*

*MSS., State
Paper Office.*

*The Most An-
cient Book of
the Corporation
of Irishtown.*

* The fifth chapter of the Statute passed in the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth purports to be—"An act for reuying the Statute against grey merchants," &c., which it appears was passed in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII., and provided "that no person or persons, to the intent to sell the same again, should buy or cause to be bought within this

land any hydes, felles, checkers, fleges, yarne, linnen cloth, woll, or flockes, in any other place or places, but onely in the open market or fayre. And if any person or persons did otherwise, and were of the same duly conuict, that then eury person or persons so conuicted to be adjudged a forstaller of the market."—*Irish Statutes*, p. 169. The Act of 34 Hen. VIII. is not printed.

of the latter, Adam is stated to have been portreve of Irishtown in 1564, and an auditor of the accounts of the Corporation in 1569. From the most ancient of the existing books of the Corporation of Irishtown, we learn that Walter Lawles, "filius et heres Adami Lawles" was sworn portreve on the 11th October, 1605; and he is stated to have been a benefactor to the municipality, having advanced a sum of £150 to meet some pressing engagements. The author of "The Life, Times, and Cotemporaries of Lord Cloncurry," declares that this "Walter Lawless was one of those men who are born to be lucky. He attracted the royal favour, and received seven boons," for, "on the 9th May, 1608, Walter Lawless, of Talbot Inche, county Kilkenny, obtained from his gracious Majesty, King James the First, the princely grant of seven manors, situated in the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, and Kilkenny." This statement, it is proper to mention, is altogether founded on a mistake. Walter Lawless was *not* so lucky as to attract the royal favour, but he had the good fortune to enjoy the confidence of the Earl of Ormonde, whose agent he was, and the "princely grant" of the seven manors, which were some of the principal estates of the house of Ormonde, was but made to him in trust, in the carrying out of some family arrangements for his patron^a. The same writer traces more correctly, as follows, the history of Walter Lawless's descendants:—

*Life, &c. of
Lord Cloncurry,*
pp. 6, 7.

Id., pp. 7, 8.

"The wife of Walter Lawless was a daughter of Robert Wrothe [Rothe], Esq., of Kilkenny. By her he had one son, Richard, a prominent member of the Supreme Council of the confederate Catholics of Kilkenny, in the civil wars of 1641. In this capacity Richard Lawless greatly distinguished himself, as some old historians tell us, by warmly opposing the massacre of the Kilkenny Protestants, when proposed to the Council by Turlogh Oge O'Neil^b. Richard married Margaret, daughter of Patrick Denn, Esq., of Grenan,

^a Mr. Fitzpatrick enumerates these manors as follows:—Clonmel, Killsheallane, Lisronagh, Kilfakill, Corketenny, Damagh, and Ballycallan, ancient possessions of the Ormonde family, some of which they still hold. The date of the grant was the 19th (not 9th) May, 1608.—*Rot. Pat.* 6 Jac. I., prima pars, facie, iii. 8.

^b The fact of Richard Lawless's intercession for the Protestant inhabitants of Kilkenny is given by the author on the authority of a note

to Archdall's Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. iv. p. 61; but the source from whence the information of the latter is derived is the Depositions of 1641, MS. F. 2, c., Lib. Trin. Coll. Dubl., where the circumstance is set out at much length in the depositions of James Benn, "late of the city of Kilkenny, shoemaker," and of Henry Robinson, of Castlecomer, gentleman. Richard Lawless was continued in his father's confidential situation under the Ormonde family, and he wrote a

county Kilkenny, and died in 1670, leaving issue two sons Walter and Thomas. Walter, the eldest, married a daughter of John Bryan, Esq., of Jenkinstown, county Kilkenny, and had issue five sons. In the Irish wars of 1689 he took a leading part. On the precipitate flight of James from England, when all his army rallied round William of Orange, and proclaimed him their sovereign, we find that the royal plate of the fugitive monarch was deposited with his staunch friend and supporter, Walter Lawless, in the same manner that his most important papers were intrusted to the care, as Macaulay tells us, of the Tuscan minister. Probably, when Walter Lawless was reduced to the necessity of flying from Ireland, and became involved in the common ruin of all James's influential followers, the deposited plate was made a present to him by his master. Be this as it may, the plate remained in the possession of his descendants, and within a few years a portion of it, emblazoned with the royal arms of the Stuarts, might be seen at Lyons, the seat of Lord Cloncurry. Richard, the eldest son of Walter Lawless, fell at the siege of Limerick, in 1691. Patrick, his second son, served with distinction in the armies of his Spanish Majesty, Philip the Fifth; was appointed, during the Orleans Regency, Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France, created Knight of the Equestrian Order, and, finally, inaugurated Governor of Majorca, which office he continued to fill, with honour and reputation, until his death*. The third son, John, having manifested strong feelings of loyalty towards James the Second, was attainted at the same time as his father, Walter Lawless. The two younger sons died before reaching their majority."

Thomas, the younger brother of the last Walter Lawless, who married a daughter of James Butler of Kilkenny, settled at Puck's Castle, in the county of Dublin, near the original property of his ancestors, where the family tradition avers that James II., after the rout of the Boyne, and before quitting Ireland, visited the proprietor in disguise, and took shelter for a short time. Whilst there he volunteered to be godfather for the expected child of his entertainer, and when the child was born, having proved a son, he was christened

genealogical account of that house, which has never been published. The MS. is in the library of the Earl of Bessborough. It contains a good deal of interesting original information respecting the Butler family.

* The feat which served to gain for General Patrick Lawless such high honours at the hands of Philip V. of Spain, was one evincing singular intrepidity and daring. Whilst yet the result of the contest for the throne between Philip and

Prince Charles of Bavaria was doubtful, Lawless proceeded to the residence of the Duke de Medina Celi, whose influence was supposed to be given to support the views of Charles, and, singly and unaided, in the midst of the Duke's servants and retainers, by a stratagem, contrived to make him a prisoner, and carry him to his master at Madrid, whose cause he was thus compelled to espouse.—See *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 375.

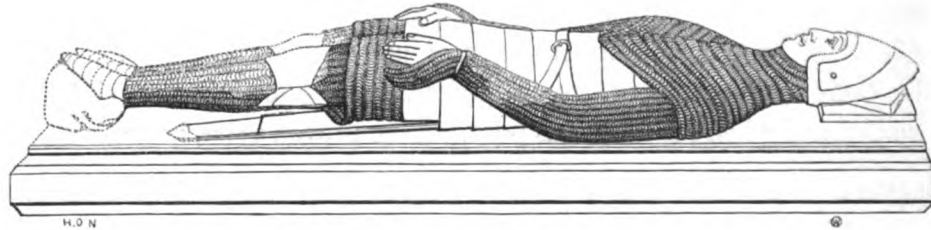
Rot., 2^o Anne,
13^a pars, dorso.
No. 36.

James, after the deposed monarch; the Duke of Berwick standing sponsor as proxy for his father: from this child, remembered with pride in the family as “King James the Second’s godson,” the present Lord Cloncurry is lineally descended. The family property of Talbot’s Inch, near Kilkenny, comprising 174 acres, having been forfeited on Walter Lawless’s attainder, was sold by the State on the 10th April, 1703, John, Bishop of Ossory, having been declared the purchaser for £455.

[25.] *Hic jacēt Johēs gras miles ac baro de courtistoun & Onorina brenach ux’ ei’ A^o dnⁱ m^occcc^oliij^o viii die mēs’*

TRANSLATION.—Here lie John Grace, knight, and baron of Courtstown, and Onorina Brenach his wife. A.D. M.CCCC.LII., on the 8th day of the month

This is a table monument, supported at the sides by slabs, each carved into six niches, enriched with figures of the Apostles, the spandrils filled with foliage; at the head is sculptured the Crucifixion, and at the foot a lion rampant for Grace. The maker’s name is carved on the edge of the table, as follows:—*Moricus O’tonne fabricauit istā tūbā.* From the occurrence of the family bearing, it is probable that the entire of this monument as it now stands is original. The table and effigy are much fractured: considerable portions of the lower part of the effigy are lost, and the head has also suffered injury. We have engraved



No. 49.

this effigy as seen from the right side, and the artist has restored it, indicating the conjectural additions by dots and a lighter tint. The style of the armour is, in some particulars, more antiquated than the military costume of which Shortall’s effigy and the Ormonde monuments afford examples. A true “hauberk” of ring mail descends more than half way down the thighs,

which, with the legs, are cased in "chausses" of mail, with genouillières of plate at the knees, and, perhaps, plate sollerets on the feet. The hauberk is furnished with sleeves, with coverings for the hands, without divisions for the fingers, but confined at the wrists by straps. The gauntlets are slipped off the hands, which are represented as bare. The portions of the armour just described would, if occurring in English monumental art, be assigned at latest to the first half of the fourteenth century; but in this effigy we find them combined with the camailed bascinet, the sollerets, and defensive coat, strengthened with broad bands of plate, of the latter end of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries*. In this effigy we also can trace an indication of a fashion which prevailed in England subsequently to 1400, namely, apron-like defensive armour, termed "taces," formed of a series of overlapping plates attached to a lining of leather or strong cloth, and serving to protect the upper parts of the thighs. The presence of taces in Grace's effigy is proved by the position of the sword, which is placed beneath the body of the figure, showing that the plates, from the waist downwards, do not extend all round the person. The sword-belt is plain, and buckled round the waist. The feet, when perfect, rested on a dog, or lion.

*Monumental
Brasses and
Slabs*, pp. 27, 28.

Id., p. 59.

It is unnecessary to trace the history of the Graces of Courtstown, as the family has already found a cordial genealogical chronicler in the person of one of its own members, the late Sheffield Grace, Esq., whose "Memoirs of the Grace Family," making due allowance for a slight, and perhaps natural, tendency towards exaggerating the social and political importance of his progenitors, are in the main, correct, and display much research and erudition. Suffice it to say here, that, deriving their descent from Raymond le Gros, the brother-in-law of Strongbow, and one of the most distinguished of the Anglo-Norman adventurers—being styled by Cambrensis "the notable and chiefest pillar of Ireland," they were settled in the district of the county of Kilkenny comprising

* The popular *sobriquet* by which Baron Grace's father was known—*Срѣга іапаи*, i.e. Cinguli ferrei—perhaps indicates the date of the introduction amongst the gentry of Kilkenny of the defensive armour above described. There can be no doubt that the Baron Grace of the monument inherited his father's armour, as did James Earl of Ormonde (see p. 245, *supra*). We

learn from a document assigned to the year 1515, that the coat of plates, or "white armour," was sometimes laid aside, and its place supplied by a hempen "coat of fence," termed a "jakke," and then the armour was termed "black armour," and those so armed, "black men." The jakke was "ne lengre [than] to the knee."—*State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 19.

the modern barony of Cranagh, from a very early period, and the head of the house bore the title of the Baron of Courtstown, derived from the important feudal residence of that name. This dignity was latterly but titular; however, Grace of Courtstown might at any time have claimed to be deemed a baron by writ as well as by tenure, as some of the earlier proprietors of the estate were duly summoned to Parliament by the royal precept. The member of the family for whom the monument was erected in the cathedral was the eldest son of Baron John Grace Fitz-Oliver,—traditionally remembered by the *nom de guerre* of *Ἰσάρακ ἀν σπείρα ἰσραίων*, or “the iron-belted Grace,” derived probably from a peculiarity in the armour which he usually wore,—by his wife Catherine, daughter of Le Poer, Lord of Curraghmore, and was known as Baron John Grace Fitz-John, and also, it is said, as “the great Grace.” Although existing records represent him as taking a prominent part amongst the other principal freeholders of the county of Kilkenny, in such public matters as pertained to the interest of the district, it is not easy to conjecture why he should have received so high-sounding an appellation as this, for even Mr. Sheffield Grace, who seems to have assigned it to him on the authority of local tradition, was unable to discover anything more important in his personal history than the following meagre and generally not very well-authenticated particulars:—

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny Castle.*

*Mason's Paro-
chial Survey of
Ireland, vol. iii.,
pp. 557-67.*

“If baron John Grace Fitz-John of Courtstown, acquired the reputation of piety, by founding Grace's chapel at Tullaroan, 34 Hen. VIII. (1543), so did he merit that of a splendid and martial spirit by greatly enlarging and strengthening the castle of Courtstown (*al.* Tullaroan), characterized by tradition as being then the noblest residence in this part of the country, and exceeded only by the earl of Ormonde's castle at Kilkenny. The hospitality likewise, even lavish and certainly habitual, then practised, may easily make us believe the prevailing tradition, that Queen Elizabeth's lord lieutenant of Ireland, and a numerous retinue, were magnificently entertained for several weeks together at this castle. About the same period the sons of various Irish chiefs, it is said, were confined here as hostages, who could not be prevailed upon to entrust themselves to the custody of the lord deputy in Dublin. But the baron of Courtstown possessed an hereditary claim to their confidence, as well as an acknowledged personal one to that of the English Government. The great power and intrepid exploits of ‘an Grassagh more Ballynacourty’ (the great Grace of Courtstown), the common appellation by which he was known, are to this day spoken of in the parish, and the establishment he is said to have made of an English colony for the purpose of more widely diffusing their language,

industry, and civilization, among his followers and dependants, receives some confirmation not only from the many English names that still remain among the peasantry, but from the townland of 'Brittas-mor-an-Grassagh' (great Brittas-Grace) having a 'New England' for one of its sub-denominations. The castle of Tubrid, on the townland of that name, forming the northern boundary of this parish [Tullaroan], is said to have been erected by this baron of Courtstown to protect his adjoining estates from the hostile inroads of 'Moryhead Glearhodh' (Margaret Fitz-Gerald, the great countess of Ormonde). There are many stories yet current of her sanguinary contests with the Graces, of her open attempts to seize their property, and of her wily stratagems to entrap their persons*. The historic bard of feudal frays also commemorates the frequent failure of her efforts, and extols her for abandoning all ambitious designs before her death, and confirming her professed reconciliation by two marriages between the Graces and her own family. Sir John Grace was returned to parliament for the county of Kilkenny, January 17th, 10 Eliz. (1568), and, dying the same year, was interred among his ancestors in the cathedral church of St. Canice in Kilkenny."

The authority for thus placing Baron John Grace's death in 1568 merely appears to have been O'Phelan's erroneous copy of the inscription on the tomb; which is printed by Mr. Sheffield Grace as if it were correct, setting forth the date there inscribed as 1568. The date on the monument is really 1552, which cannot have been the period of Baron Grace's death, if the statement is well founded that he was Member of Parliament for the county in 1568. Indeed, the nature of the inscription would go to show that Grace, like Shortall of Ballylarkin, caused his tomb to be erected in his lifetime,—a usage of the period, for which Shakspeare incidentally assigns a reason signi-

* Very little dependence can be placed on traditions of this kind, there being sufficient documentary evidence extant to show that most friendly relations subsisted between the Baron of Courtstown and the Earl of Ormonde,—in fact, that the former fully acknowledged and cheerfully sustained the feudal chieftainship of the latter. At the skirmish of Lord James Butler's troops with Silken Thomas, near Jerpoint, and in the demonstration against the Tanist of Macgillpatrick, in which Lord Thomas Butler was killed, as well as on every similar occasion,

Baron Grace is found to have been present with his retainers, acting under the leadership of the representative of the Ormonde family. The tradition that Baron Grace built Tubrid Castle to protect his estates from the incursions of the Countess of Ormonde is, at all events, quite devoid of foundation, as the castle was not situated on his property, and was, in fact, built by the Shortalls of Claragh, who were the proprietors of Tubrid long before, as well as after, the period at which the Countess Margaret and Baron John Grace lived.

*Much Ado about
Nothing, Act v.
Scene 2.*

cant enough, in one of his plays, where he makes Benedick remark:—"If a man do not erect in this age his own tomb ere he dies, he shall live no longer in monument than the bell rings and the widow weeps, an hour in clamour, and a quarter in rheum." The year in which Baron Grace was interred beneath his monument in the cathedral must, then, remain uncertain, unless some documentary evidence of the fact, which we have failed to discover, can be obtained. His wife was the daughter of Walter Walsh of Castle Hoel, titular Baron of Shancaher, and Lord of Walsh's country,—*Brenach* or *br̄eac̄nac̄*, literally *Britannicus*, i. e. Welshman, being the Irish form of the name. It would appear from the inscriptions over the curiously carved and somewhat grotesquely ornamented doorway of Grace's chapel, connected with the old parish church of Tullaroan, that this lady joined her husband in founding that structure before the year 1543. For the services rendered to, and the loss of their ancient patrimony sustained in, the cause of the Stuarts by their descendants, we must refer the reader to the "Memoirs of the Grace Family," or "Mason's Parochial Survey," parish of Tullaroan. The heroic defence of Athlone also, made against the army of King William by Colonel Richard Grace, another member of the family, is matter of history.

[26.] [Hic jac]et Jacob⁹ purcell fili⁹ phillippi de foukerath qⁱ obiit xi die mēs⁹ octobris A^o. dⁱ. M^o. cccc^o. lii^o. Et Johāna Shortals uxor ei⁹. q̄. obiit [] die mēs⁹. [] . āno . dⁱ. M^o. cccc^o. [] . quor⁹ . aīab⁹ . p'piciet⁹ . de⁹ . amē . Iesus . M[aria].

Credo quod redētor me⁹ b̄iuit et ī nouissīmo die de t̄ra surrectur⁹ sum Et ī carne mea b̄idebo deū saluatorē meū Quē b̄isur⁹ sū ego ip̄e et nō ali⁹ et oculi mei cōspecturī sūt. Suscepit israel puerū suū recordat⁹ m̄ie sue. Letat⁹ sū in his que dicta sūt mⁱ in domū dñi ibim⁹.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth James Purcell, the son of Philip, of Foukerath, who died on the 11th day of the month of October, A. D. M. cccc. lii. And Johanna Shortals, his wife, who died on the [] day of the month of [], A. D. M. cccc. [], on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen. Jesus. Mary.

I believe that my Redeemer liveth, &c. He, remembering his mercy, &c.

A floor-slab, resembling that of Cottrell and Lawless in the arrangement of the inscriptions, although of later date. At the head are carved the arms of the Crucifixion; below the circular part of the scroll (which incloses the sacred monogram) are two hands holding up a heart; next comes a shield charged with three boars' heads coupéd, and over it the word *puttall*, beneath which is another shield, bearing on a cross five lion's heads erased close, over which is the word *shortals*; and under all, the name of the sculptor—*Willelm⁹ Otūny fabricauit* *Ḥstā tūbā pro me p'o*, i. e., William Otunny was the maker of this tomb: pray for me, I beseech you.

The founder of the Purcell family appears to have been amongst the Norman adventurers who came over with William the Conqueror. They were early seated in Oxfordshire, and amongst the notable manors of that county Camden mentions Heyford-Purcell, "so named of the *Purcells*, or *de Porcellis* ancient gentlemen the old owners." The first of the name whom we find in Ireland was a knight, stated by Hanmer to have been lieutenant of Strongbow's army, and to have been "slaine by the Waterfordians," not, however, it would seem, without leaving sons to receive the reward of his services and perpetuate his name in the conquered country. In the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth, century, Sir Hugh Purcell married Beatrix, daughter of Theobald Fitz Walter, first Chief Butler of Ireland, and appears to have received with her the important property in Ely O'Carroll, in the modern county of Tipperary, which her father had bestowed on her as a dower in marrying her first husband, Thomas de Hereford; for we find this Hugh granting to the Abbey of St. Thomas, of Dublin, the advowson of the church of Lochmy (Loughmoe) in that district; and his descendants held the position of Barons Palatine of Loughmoe, till the representative of the house in the seventeenth century, who was one of the Commissioners deputed to draw up the famous Conditions of Limerick, forfeited his estates and titular barony by following King James to France. The county of Kilkenny branch of the Purcell family may be presumed to have descended from Walter Purcell, probably brother to Sir Hugh, who is a subscribing witness to the charter of William Earl Marshall, the younger, to his burgesses of Kilkenny, in the year 1223. Sir Philip Purcel was amongst the knights summoned in 1335 to join the Irish Justiciary's army, then proceeding to assist the King in his Scottish wars. In 1277 Walter Purcell was denounced as a favourer and main-

Holland's
Camden's Bri-
tannia, p. 377.

Hanmer's Chro-
nicle, edit. 1683,
p. 137.

Carte's Or-
monde, Intro-
duct. p. xiii.

Id., ib.

Hanmer's Chro-
nicle, p. 173.

Rymer, vol. ii.,
p. 906.

Plea Roll,
6 Ed. I., m. 12,
dorso.

Rot. Mem.
9 Ric. II., m. 10,
dorso.

Ibid., 18 &
19 Ric. II.,
m. 11, dorso.

*MSS., State
Paper Office,*
A. D. 1537.

Ibid.

tainer of Irish enemies, the O'Brenans, O'Morthes, and Mac Kormans, and it was, therefore, ordered that he should be attached and brought before the Justiciary at Dublin to answer for having "act and part" with such "felons and incendiaries." Whether he cleared himself of the treasonable accusation does not appear, but in the succeeding century, at least, his family seem to have been looked upon as loyal subjects, and fitting to be placed in a position of trust under the Crown, for in 1385 Adam and Thomas Purcell were appointed "Custodes Pacis" in the Liberty of Kilkenny, with power to assess all men for arms and horses, hobbler and footmen, according to the quality of their lands, to defend the Marches against the enemy; and in 1392 Thomas Purcell was again appointed, *cum aliis*, a justice of the king's peace in the baronies of Oskellan, Shill'r, and Obargon, in the Liberty of Kilkenny, with power to fine all rebels, and to restrain all idle men and kerns found in the act of taking meat, hay, corn, or other victuals from the lieges of the king. As the residence of these persons, thus commissioned by the Crown, is not stated in the records, it is impossible to determine to which of the Kilkenny branches of the family they belonged, for, besides the Purcells of Foulksrath, there were four other houses of the name in that county, viz., those of Ballyfoyle, of Lismain, of Ballymartin, and of Clone, near Rathbeagh. It is difficult now to say whether the Foulksrath or the Ballyfoyle branch was of the greater importance. Both were held in high consideration amongst the landed gentry of Kilkenny. Philip Purcell, of Foulksrath, is mentioned, in a deed in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle, as being alive in the year 1528, and then having a son named Thomas. In 1537 Philip Purcell was, amongst other landholders of the county, presented by the "verdyt of the Commyners of the Towne of Kilkenny" as an enforcer of unlawful and oppressive exactions, such as his ancestor, two centuries before, was commissioned to prevent the imposition of on the King's lieges. It is declared of him by the presentment of the Kilkenny townsmen, that it was his wont, "in the tyme of Lent [to] take up otes of every ploughman of the countrey of Kilkenny, not paying money therfor, for to find his horse;" and there is a further charge set out thus:—"Item, they present that Richard Sertall and Philip Purcell did feloniously, in the daye tyme, breake the house of Davy Tobyn, and there stale 2 horses." Such deeds, however, were by no means deemed ungentlemanly proceedings in those days, when might made right. "The Lorde

Pursell" is also presented by the Jury of the town of Irishtown, as one of "the freeholders of the said countie of Kylkenny [who] doo use at their pleasure to charge their tenants, and all other the king's subjects within the said countie, with coyne and lyverey." At the same time James Purcell, the son of Philip, for whom the monument was placed in the cathedral, was one of the Jury who formed "the Inquest of Gentlemen of the bodye of the Shyre of Kylkenny." James's successor in the property was Thomas Purcell, who died in the month of August, 1585, and was found by inquisition to have been seised in fee of the castle and lands of Foulksrath and Roestowne, comprising one-eighth part of the proportion of land called "a Horseman's bed"^a, which he held from the Earl of Desmond^b, as of his manor of Coulcrahine. He was succeeded by his son, Robert, who was then aged only fourteen years. Robert Purcell died on the 6th January, 1635^c, leaving the property to be enjoyed for a brief period by his son, Philip, then forty years old, and married; but a revolution soon swept over the land, and the Foulksrath branch of the Purcell family having, like most of the others, lost their patrimony by confiscation for their connexion with the rising of 1641, it was granted to a person named Bradshaw^d, probably

MSS., State Paper Office.

Inquis. Com. Kilk., Temp. Car. I., No. 12.

Ibid., Temp. Car. I., No. 91.

^a "Horseman's bed" was a term derived from the system of taxation for the support of the militia of the various counties under English law. The county was divided into so many districts, each district to supply, arm, and maintain a mounted soldier for the public service; and thus each such district came to be designated "a horseman's bed."

^b The Earls of Ormonde were the lords of the manor from whom the Purcells held by payment of a chiefry. The Earl of Desmond, alluded to in the Inquisition above cited, was not one of the Geraldines, but a Scotch adventurer, Sir Richard Preston, whom King James created Earl of Desmond, and gave the Ormonde estates to, on his marrying the daughter of Thomas, the tenth Earl. The manor of Coolcraheen was, in the thirteenth century, a possession of the De la Freynes, amongst whom a favourite Christian name was Fulc or Fulco. Hence, probably,

Fulc's Rath, pronounced more modernly Foulksrath.

^c He appears to have been buried in the church of Coolcraheen, amongst the ruins of which, his tomb, an altar-shaped monument, still exists, but in a very dilapidated state. It bears an inscription in Roman letters, as follows:—

HIC . JACET . ROBERTVS . PVRCELL . DK . FOVLKSRATH . GENEROSVS ME . FIERI . FECIT . QUI . ETIAM EIVS . VXOR . ELLENOR . PVRCELL

The covering slab is ornamented by a cross in relief, and on one of the supporting stones is an escutcheon of the Purcell arms, as on the tomb in the cathedral, but with a boar for the crest, and the motto—SPES MEA IN DEO EST.

^d A curious inscribed head-stone marks the grave of Bradshaw, in the churchyard of Donoughmore, near Ballyragget, and situate within two miles of Foulksrath Castle.

a relative of the regicide of that name. The castle of Foulksrath still remains in good preservation, and affords evidence of the wealth and importance of its ancient proprietors.

[27.] et vicarius de donfarte obiit xiiii die Januarij a^o dnⁱ M^o.cccc^o.lviij.
 Dñs hoc uxor quor' [atāb' p'p]icit' de' Amē.

TRANSLATION:—[Here lieth] and vicar of Donfarte, who died the 18th day of January, A. D. M.CCCC.LVII. the lord wife; on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen.

This monument is partially covered by the ancient sedile vulgarly termed “St. Kieran’s Chair.” It is ornamented by the arms of the Passion, and a heart pierced with swords; but the most important portions of the inscription are hidden from view.

[28.] Hic . J[acet] m^o . cccc^o . lxi^o . Et . Leticia .
 Walme . uxor . eius . q̄ . obiit . [] die . [] mēs' . [] anno .
 dñi . mccccx . [] .

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth M.CCCC.LXVI. And Leticia Walme, his wife, who died the [] day of the month of [] in the year of our Lord M.CCCC.LX [] .

A fragment of a floor-slab which was ornamented with a segmental cross in relief, the stem surrounded by plaited bands, the inscription, in Old English characters, running round the edge.

[29.] Hic . Jacet . honest . ac . dis[cretus . bir . dominu]s . Nicholaus . motyng .
 quodā . cācellari^o . isti^o . ecc[lie . t̄ . rector] . de . kilder . q̄ . obiit . xiiii . die . mēs' . feb'arii .
 a^o . dⁱ . M^o . cccc^o . lxxviii^o . cui^o . aīe . p'picietur . de^o . amē . Jesus ✠ .

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth that honest and discreet [man], Master Nicholas Motyng, formerly chancellor of this church, [and rector] of Kilder (Kilderry), who died on the 14th day of the month of February, M.CCCC.LXVIII., on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen. Jesus.

This appears to have been originally a floor-slab, but it now forms a portion

of an elaborate mural tomb erected in the following century by the Murphy family. Motyng was, perhaps, related to the Murphys, and, therefore, they incorporated his tomb in their family monument, in doing which, however, they covered portions of the inscription with the bases of two pilasters which support the superstructure of the more modern work. The inscription, in Old English characters, runs round the edge of the slab, and the centre is carved with a segmental cross in relief; with floriated ornaments, and the sacred monogram in a small circle, on the stem.

Nicholas Mothing, as chancellor of St. Canice's cathedral, witnessed, on the 15th September, 1531, the definitive sentence of the Bishop of Ossory, depriving Elicia Butler, Abbess of Kilkillyhym, alias De Bello Portu, of her office and dignity, in consequence of proof that she had dilapidated the convent, and maltreated certain of the nuns, even "cum effusione sanguinis." In 1610 John Moutheing, son and heir of James Moutheing, the elder brother of "Sir Nicholas Moutheing, late chancellor of St. Canice, Kilkenny," carried out a deed whereto his father was party, for the use of Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, which deed was dated 6th August, 1586. The family seems to have been settled in the town of Callan. In 1537 James Moteing, of Callan, was a member of the Jury who passed the presentment of "the Commyners of the Countye of Kylkennyne."

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny Castle.*

*Rot. Pat., 8
Jac. I., 1^a
pars, xcii. 42.*

*MSS., State
Paper Office.*

[30.] [Hic] [a]cet dñs will' bale quodā iū' Ecclie q' obit xxi' die mēs' m^o b^o lxxi.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth master William Vale, formerly of this church, who died the 21st day of the month of M.CCCC.LXXI.

A fragment of a floor-slab, very much defaced and injured,—the inscription in raised Old English characters, and presenting in the date a rather unusual combination of Roman numerals.

The person for whom the monument was designed was an ecclesiastic, and appears to have been precentor of the cathedral; in all the documents of the period which we have seen, however, his name is written "Wale." On the 16th May, 1543, James, Earl of Ormond, appointed William Wale, precentor of the church of Ossory, his attorney. In the year 1552 "S^r Wyllm Wale, chanto' of St. Kinnis' church," was one of the witnesses present when Robert

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny Castle.*

*First Book of the
Corporation of
Irishtown.*

Tobin, portreve of Irishtown, learning that there was a quarrel and a weapon drawn amongst the servants of John Bale, then Bishop of Ossory, entered his lordship's palace, with "divers of his burgesses," and "then forfeyed ye weapon so drawne, and did leavy the frayes and bloodsheds don in the sayd Lord Bushopp's manor house, with full consent of the Lord Bushopp, to w^{ch} the L. Bushopp did the rather yelde for that his predecessors, Bushoppes of Ossery, have time out of minde yielded the correction of such like to the portrive for the time being for ev^r."

[31.] *Hic Jac[et Ricar]dus Butler vicecomes Montgarret qⁱ obiit 20 decēbr' 1571.*

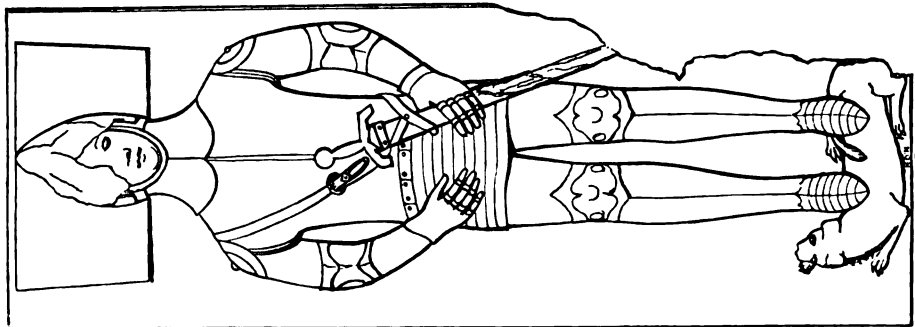
TRANSLATION:—Here lieth [Richa]rd Butler, Viscount Montgarret, who died the 20th of December, 1571.

This monument was of the table form, but of its original supporting stones but one remains, namely, a side-slab, carved, in low relief, with the arms of the Passion, and a shield, bearing, quarterly, the arms of Butler and Fitzgerald of Kildare, with a crescent for difference, proving it to have originally belonged to the monument of a *second* son of Piers, Earl of Ormonde, and the Lady Margaret Fitzgerald, daughter of the Earl of Kildare. At either side of the shield are the letters **R. B.**, which serve further to identify it with Richard Butler, first Viscount Mountgarret. The persons who re-erected the monuments for Bishop Pococke placed this slab under the effigy of Piers, Earl of Ormonde, and, perceiving that the armorial bearings did not suit that personage, had them partially effaced by the chisel. When the late Marquis of Ormonde was arranging his ancestral monuments in the south transept, he replaced the effigy of Earl Piers with that of Richard, Viscount Mountgarret, thus restoring the arms to their true owner ; but the monument is still sadly in need of careful restoration*. In the armour of the sculptured effigy of Lord Mountgarret, here represented to a scale of 2 inches to 3 feet, the English fashion of the first half of the fifteenth

* The present inheritor of the title will, we trust, pardon the suggestion that he would do well to follow the good example set him by the head of the family, and cause a judicious restoration of his ancestor's monument to be carried out under proper supervision.

century is reproduced exactly. A vizored basinet still covers the head ; but, instead of a camail, it has firmly attached to it a steel "gorget," or "hausse-col," which covers the throat, and rests upon the upper part of the "cuirass", to the

*Monumental
Brasses and
Slabs, pp. 58, 59.*



No. 50.

lower rim of which are attached the taces; the arms and legs are defended by plate armour, as in Shortall's monument, and a smaller sword, of the same character, is suspended over the right shoulder. The small tegulated plates between the taces and the cuirass, as shown in this effigy, are very curious. The joints between the cuirass and the rere braces, or defence of the arms above the elbow, are exposed in this figure. On English monuments these joints are generally represented as covered by plates of steel of various forms, placed in front of the shoulder. The cuirass is pigeon-breasted.

This nobleman was the second son of Piers, Earl of Ormonde, and the Lady Margaret Fitzgerald, and seems to have inherited the high spirit of his parents. Lodge says he is "described to have been a Knight of goodly personage, and as comely a man as could be seen; he was a very honourable and worthy gentleman, and performed many great services to the Crown of England." From a very early period we find him taking an active part in all the military operations which engaged his father's attention, and leading the feudal retainers of the House of Ormonde in the absence of the Earl, or of his eldest son, Lord James. Richard Butler was engaged in the unfortunate foray into the Fitzpatricks' ter-

*Archdall's
Lodge's Peerage,
vol. iv., p. 22.*

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.*

* Called also a "breast and back." "The breste leveyth the legges naked, and the backe is more uneesye and paynful to bere, for footemen, than

a jakke; and also it is more easye for every man to lye in fylde in a jakke, then in a breste."—A.D. 1515.—*State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 21.

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 436.

Id., p. 441.

Id., p. 556, and
vol. iii., part iii.,
p. 49.

Archdall's
Lodge's Peerage,
vol. iv., p. 23.

ritories, in 1532, in which his brother Thomas was slain. In 1537 he was placed in charge of the King's lands in Fasagh Bentry, and Old Ross, in the county of Wexford, for their protection against the Kavanaghs, and the same year he joined the Lord Deputy Grey at the siege of O'Connor's strong castle of Dangan, subsequently designated Philipstown, bringing with him a force of horse and foot to aid the royal cause, his father being unable to attend in person from being laid up with a sore knee. In 1538 he was appointed Constable of the King's Castle of Ferns, and defended it against the Kavanaghs, who besieged it. As a recompense for his services, says Lodge, "the Lords of the Council, in their letter to the Lord Deputy, St. Leger, dated at Windsor, 5th August, 1550, transmitted the directions of King Edward VI. to create him Viscount Mountgarret, which was accordingly done by patent bearing date, at Dublin, 23rd October following. He was continued as Constable of Ferns in the reign of Queen Mary, and, in 1559, was in two several commissions for the preservation of the peace in the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Wexford during the absence of the Lord Deputy Sussex in the north on his expedition against Shane O'Neill.

[32.] *Hic Jacet Patricius Kerin quond^a ville kilkenie burgēs' qⁱ obiit 6^o die Mensis februarīi 1581 Et Joanna Nowlan uxor ei⁹ q̄ obiit 6^o die Mensis decembris 1575.*

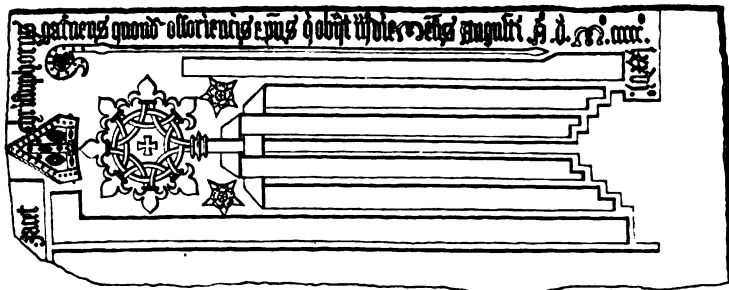
TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Patrick Kerin, formerly burgess of the town of Kilkenny, who died the 5th day of the month of February, 1581; and Joanna Nowlan, his wife, who died the 5th day of the month of December, 1575.

A floor-slab, much worn, but apparently without ornamentation. The inscription, in Old English characters, runs round the edge. The name of Kerin was common in the county and city of Kilkenny at the period; but no member of the family rose to any position of distinction.

[33.] *[Hic] Jacet Christophorus gafneus quond' ossoriensis epus qⁱ obiit iii^o die Mēsis Augusti A. D. M^o.cccc^o.lxxvi^o.*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Christopher Gafney, formerly Bishop of Ossory, who died the 3rd day of the month of August, A. D. M.CCCC.LXXVI.

A floor-slab, ornamented by an interlaced segmental cross, here faithfully engraved. The mitre and pastoral staff of the prelate are carved in the monu-



No. 51.

ment, and the former is doubtless a tolerably faithful representation of the “new mitre set with precious stones,” given by Bishop Snell to his church. The See p. 36, *supra*. crozier is also of much earlier fashion than the age of Bishop Gafney. It is extremely probable that cross-slabs were manufactured beforehand, and kept in stock by the masons of the period: this may account for the fact that the reformed prelate is commemorated by a style of monument in general use before the Reformation, but subsequently almost entirely confined to the members of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. For a memoir of Bishop Gafney the reader is referred to the forthcoming “History of the See of Ossory.”

[34.] [D]owli quond' marator [et] burgēs' bille hibernicane Kilkeni q' obit 8 die [] e burgēs' q' obit [] die mensis [] et Elina . . . uxor ei' . q . obit 30 die Mensis marci 1579.

TRANSLATION:— [D]owli, formerly merchant and burgess of the Irishtown of Kilkenny, who died on the 8th day of [] burgess, who died the day of the month of [], and Elina . . . his wife, who died on the 30th day of the month of March, 1579.

A fragment of a floor-slab, bearing an interlaced cross, like that on No. 39.

[35.] Hic . Jacet Reuerend' pater Nicholaus . walshe . q'nd' ossor' . Epus . q' . obit . die mes' . decēbris xiiii' A° d' M° v' lxxxv°.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth the reverend father Nicholas Walshe, formerly Bishop of Ossory, who died on the 14th day of December, A.D. 1585.

A plain altar tomb, without the interlaced cross. The inscription, in Old English characters, runs round the edge of the top slab. The monument, unlike most of those in the cathedral, seems never to have been disturbed. It stands under the most eastern window of the south side-aisle.

For a memoir of Bishop Walshe the reader is referred to the forthcoming "History of the See of Ossory."

[36.] *Qui clarī fuerant fili' spesq' alma parentū*
Bourcheri Charolus Fredericusq' Philippus
Ossa Immatura simul flebilis nunc contigit urna
Morte puer Jubenis virg' senexq' cadit
Quorum alter obiit 17 die Septembris 1584
Alter viii die Martii A° 1587.

TRANSLATION:—Charles and Frederick-Philip Bouchier, who were the fair sons and fond hope of their parents. The mournful urn now covers their immature remains together. By death falls the boy, the youth, the mature man, and the aged. One of them died on the 17th day of September, 1584. The other on the 8th day of March, 1587.

A mural tablet, at present fixed in the north chapel. The inscription, in Old English characters, is sculptured beneath a shield carved in high relief; the Bouchier knot appears several times on the tablet, and on slabs in the pavement beneath. The shield is charged with the achievement of Sir George Bouchier, and his wife, viz., per pale, Dexter side:—1. A cross engrailed between four water bougets; 2. A fess between fourteen billets, eight in chief, and six in base; 3. Quarterly per fess indented, ermine countercharged; 4. A fret; 5. Three oak leaves, slipped; 6. A chevron barry nebuly of four; 7. Two bendlets wavy; 8. Two bars each charged with three bezants; 9. Five fusils conjoined in fess; 10. Three arches pillared. Sinister side:—1. On a band between six cross crosslets fitchée, an escutcheon charged with a demy lion rampant; 2. Three lions passant gardant in pale, in chief a label of three points; 3. Chequy; 4. A lion rampant.

The two young members of the noble house of Bouchier, for whom this tablet was erected, were children of Sir George Bouchier, son of John, second Earl of Bath, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, and Master of the Ordnance in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by his wife, Martha, fourth daughter of the first

Lord Howard of Effingham. The military duties of Sir George appear to have frequently brought him to Kilkenny. In the year 1600, when the Earl of Ormonde was treacherously taken prisoner at a conference by O'More, the Lord President of Munster, who narrowly escaped falling into the same trap, left Sir George Bouchier in command of the troops in Kilkenny, and to ward the Earl's castles, and protect his Countess and daughter. He received a grant of the manor of Onath, county of Tipperary, from Queen Elizabeth, was appointed High Commissioner for Ecclesiastical Causes, and elected Member of Parliament for the King's County. He was knighted by Sir William Darcy, Lord Justice of Ireland in 1579, and died on the 24th September, 1605. His issue were seven sons, of whom the eldest surviving, Henry, succeeded to the family title on the failure of heirs male in the elder branches, and was the seventh and last Earl of Bath. Another son, Sir John Bouchier, was knighted by Sir George Carey, Lord Justice, 24th March, 1610, and died, unmarried, 25th March, 1615. The other children—Charles-Frederick, Philip, George, William, and Thomas—all died young. There are extant accounts of the funeral ceremonies of Sir George and Sir John amongst the records of the Ulster King-of-Arms, Dublin Castle.

Pacata Hibernia
(Edit. 1810),
vol. i., p. 49.

*MSS., Office of
Ulster King-of-
Arms.*

[37.] *Hic jacet dn̄us Robertus Gafney Capellan⁹ q̄ obiit xix die Mens⁹
septembris a⁹ d̄i M̄cccc⁹lxxxix⁹.*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Master Robert Gafney, chaplain, who died the 19th day of September, A. D. M.CCCCC.LXXXIX.

A floor-slab, ornamented with a segmental cross in relief, interlaced, and the shaft surrounded by interplaiting bands, similar in character to the tomb of Bishop Gafney, who was doubtless a relative of this ecclesiastic. The inscription, in Old English characters, runs round the edge of the slab.

Robert Gafney signed a bishop's lease, as witness, on the 20th September, 1574, and styled himself "Treasurer of the cathedral of St. Canice." The representative of this family in the following century, Captain George Gafney, of the Irishtown of Kilkenny, commanded a company in Colonel Edward Butler's regiment of foot, in the army of King James, at the Boyne, and was attainted and deprived of his property by the Parliament of William and Mary.

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.
Proceedings of
Kilkenny Ar-
chæological
Society, vol. iii.,
p. 161.
Inquisitions of
Attainder,
6th Wm. & Mary*

[38.] *Hic . jacet . Thomas . Pemb[rock] . quondā . burgēs' . bīlle . Kilkēnie . qui . obīit . x . die . septēbr' . A^o . dnⁱ [Et David Pem]brock . filius . dīcti . thome . qⁱ . obīit . 14 . die . mēsīs . Octobrīs . A^o . dⁱ . 1590 ck . filius . dīcti . David . una . cum a . Ragget . & . Catharina . Archer omas . obīit . 25 . Januarii . 1616 unus . primorum . bīcecomītum Alicia . ragget . obīit . 21 85 . Katharina . Archer . obīit us . filius . dīcti . Thome . pembrock Joanna . Ragget . uxor . dīcti*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Thomas Pembrock, formerly burges of the town of Kilkenny, who died on the 10th day of September, A. D. [And David Pem]brock, son of the said Thomas, who died on the 14th day of October, A. D. 1591 [Pembro]ck, son of the said David, together with [Alici]a Ragget and Catherine Archer omas died on the 25th day of January, 1616 one of the first sheriffs Alicia Ragget died the 21st day of [15]85. Katharine Archer died son of the said Thomas Pembrock Joanna Ragget, wife of the said

A fragment of a floor-slab, ornamented with interlaced segmental cross (like that on No. 33, p. 271, *supra*), and bands. The original inscription ran round the edge, but subsequent additions were made, which caused the bands to be almost entirely used for that purpose. The characters are Old English.

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny Castle.
Rot. Mem.,
6 Ed. III., m.
33.*

*The Most An-
cient Book of
the Corporation
of Irishtown.
Roll of Accounts
of Fines in
Causes Ecclesi-
astical, from
34th to 38th
Elizabeth.*

*Corporation
Muniments,
Town Clerk's
Office.*

Sir Roger de Pembroke, Knight, seems to have been an extensive landed proprietor in the vicinity of the town of Kilkenny, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and John de Pembroke was sheriff of the Cross in 1332. The David Pembroke of the monument was portreve of Irishtown in 1575; and in 1594 Thomas Fitz-David Pembroke filled the same office. About the same time the latter was fined in the Ecclesiastical Court for absenting himself from divine service according to the Reformed rites. However, in the year 1609, the Sovereign and Corporation having obtained a new charter from King James, creating their chief magistrate a mayor, and the area of his jurisdiction a city, Thomas Pembroke and Walter Ryan were thereby nominated the first two civic sheriffs of Kilkenny. This circumstance is alluded to in the mutilated

portion of the inscription on the tomb. In 1617 and 1619 Richard Pembroke was sheriff of the city, and in 1644 David Pembroke filled the same office. The latter was, probably, the "Mr. Pembroke, merchant," who, in the Depositions of 1641, is denounced as one of the "cheefe citizens" who encouraged the rebels to plunder the Protestant inhabitants.

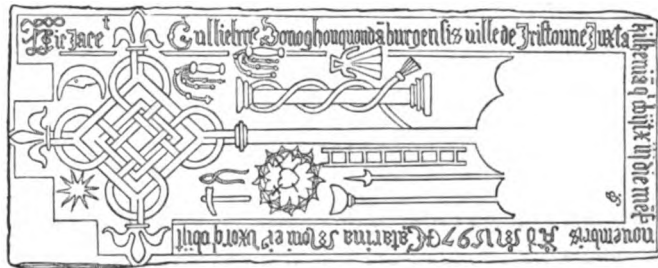
Connell's Book.
Kilkenny Castle.

MSS., Trin. Coll.
Dub., F. 2. C.

[39.] *Hic Jacet Gullielm⁹ Donoghou quondā burgensis velle de Kristoune Juxta kilkentā qⁱ obiit xiii die mēs' novembris A^o dⁱ 1597 & Catherina Moni ei⁹ uxor q^a obiit*
[]

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth William Donoghou, formerly burgess of the town of Irish-town, adjoining Kilkenny, who died the 13th day of November, A. D. 1597. And Catherine Moni, his wife, who died [].

This monument bears a graceful and elaborately interlaced cross issuing from a calvary; at each side of the shaft are the emblems of the Passion;



No. 52.

above are carved the sun and moon, denoting Christ and the Church. The monument is here carefully engraved to a scale of half an inch to a foot.

The person for whom this monument was placed appears by his name to have been a member of the ancient sept of O'Donnchadha, the head of which was formerly amongst the principal chieftains, or reguli, of Ossory, and seated at Gowran. The magnificent abbey of Jerpoint, founded by Donough O'Donnchadha in the end of the twelfth century, affords sufficient evidence of their wealth and power. The name has modernly been corrupted into Dunphy: and we find the member of the family who was interred in the cathedral, and who appears to have been a trader and member of the Corporation of Irishtown, called indifferently

The Most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

Corporation Muniments, Town Clerk's Office.

Idem.

Donoghou and Dunphy in the municipal records. He was elected bailiff of Irishtown in 1573; portreve in 1582; and auditor of the Corporation accounts in 1585 and 1586. In the year 1597 eighteen of the burgesses of the Irishtown, who were also freemen of Kilkenny, having joined in legal proceedings taken by the former Corporation to resist the encroachments of the municipal body of the latter town upon their privileges, the Kilkenny Corporation proceeded by a formal resolution, set out in the Great Red Book of Kilkenny, to the deprivation of all such parties of their civic rights, ordering that "the Sovereigne shall certifie to Waterforde their names, and to Bristoll, to the ende that they shall nott take benefit of the freedome of this Towne." Amongst the merchants thus disfranchised, and first on the list, was William Donoghou, and subsequently James and John Mony, who were, probably, relatives of his wife. However, a few days subsequently, the Kilkenny Corporation made the following order:—"fforasmuch as William Dunphy and John Mony, of the Irishtowne, came before the sovereign since the last Friday, and were sworne upon the Evangelists not to contribute to any charge in the suit against this Corporation, according to the order taken in that behalf; it is agreed by the Corporation that they shall be restored to their former freedome." It appears, from the inscription on the monument, that William Donoghou or Dunphy died the same year in which these proceedings took place.

[40.] *Hic jacet Ill's & R's d^a Ellana Butler nobilissimī bīri dⁱ Petri Butler Ormonīæ Comitīs filia & uxor quondā pia clarissimī dⁱ Donaldī obrien tumundīæ comitīs q̄ obiit 2 die Julii 1597.*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth the illustrious and noble Lady Ellena Butler, daughter of the noble lord Peter Butler, Earl of Ormonde, and late the pious wife of the most illustrious lord Donald O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, who died the 2nd of July, 1597.

This monument appears to have been originally a floor-slab, but to have been modernly set up as an altar-tomb, and on supporting stones which have no proper connexion with it. The slab is adorned with a cross in relief, surrounded by the emblems of the Passion and Crucifixion, so as to be almost a fac-simile of the tomb of William Donoghou, last described. The inscription, in Old English characters, runs round the edge. The front supporting stones

represent five figures in perpendicular Gothic niches, three being intended for Apostles, and two for other saints; but they are obviously fragments which had no original connexion, and are but roughly put together.

Lady Ellen Butler was the sixth and youngest daughter of Pierce, Earl of Ormonde. Her marriage with Donogh O'Brien took place before 1533, as a member of the Irish Government, apparently Alen, Master of the Rolls, in a Report written in that year to Cromwell, minister of Henry VIII., as to the means of remedying the "mysorders" of the country, mentions that—"ThErle of Ossorie hath maryed oon of his doughters to M^cGyllpatrick, and, is denyzyn, whome I knowe, thErle of Ossory willing, wolbe conformable to the same (the king's peace and English usages). Obrenes elder son, whoo is the moste man of power emongis the Irishrie, hath married another daughter of thErle of Ossories, who may be like allurid, and is also denysyn." This Donough, known by the *sobriquet* of "the fat," was eldest son of Connor O'Brien, chieftain, or, in the estimation of the native Irish, King of Thomond; but, being a minor at his father's death, he was set aside from the succession by his uncle, Murrough, on the principle of tanistry. We give this statement on the authority of Lodge; but Donough must indeed have been very young when he formed the matrimonial alliance with Lady Ellen Butler, if the statement be correct, as his father-in-law, Earl Pierce, in writing to the Government on the 17th January, 1536, speaks of Connor O'Brien as being then still, or at least during the previous year, alive, remarking:—"And ower that, yf I did not, to my great cost and charge, kepe Obrens son, my son in lawe, from yoyning with his father, and other his kynnesfolkes, the Brens, in maner as an outlawe uppon his contre, they wold have joyned in werre with Thomas of Kyldare, or nowe." Donough probably foresaw that his uncle, the Tanist, would stand in his way of succeeding to the chieftainship of his clan, and, therefore, sought the connexion with the house of Ormonde, with the view of obtaining their powerful interest towards securing him in the seigniorie, of which, according to English usage, he was the rightful heir^a. This expectation was ultimately fulfilled, but

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 171.

Archdall's
Lodge's
Peerage, vol. ii.
p. 27.

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
p. 280, n.

^a Donough O'Brien's Anglo-Irish matrimonial connexion was probably as distasteful to his father as to the rest of his clan, since it appears to have caused a feud between them. Ap Parry,

an English officer sent by the Lord Deputy in charge of some troops which accompanied the retinue of Lord James Butler, eldest son of the Earl of Ormonde, in an expedition to Cork and

State Papers,
vol. ii., part iii.,
pp. 350, 361,
363.

Archdall's
Lodge's
Peerage, vol. ii.,
pp. 27-8.

not for many years, as his uncle, Murrough, seized upon, and retained, the property and title, during his life. The Butlers, aided by the Government, exerted themselves for a time to restore Donough to his father's position, by making hostile inroads into the O'Briens' country, and besieging their principal castles, which they handed over, when taken, to Donough; but he was unable to hold them when the troops sent to his assistance were withdrawn, the clan refusing to acknowledge his claims to the chieftainship in opposition to those of his uncle. In the year 1543 Murrough's right was acknowledged, as a matter of expediency, by the Crown; and, having proceeded to England, and made an humble and free submission to the king, entering into an undertaking to observe English customs and laws for the future, he was created Earl of Thomond for life, and Baron of Inchiquin, with remainder to the heirs male of his body; whilst, as some recompense to Donough for his injustice to him, he was, at the same time, created Baron of Ibrackan, with the right of succession to the Earldom of Thomond at Murrough's death. Donough did accordingly succeed to that honour on his uncle's decease, and handed it down to his posterity. He died in 1553, leaving two sons and three daughters by his wife, the Lady Ellen Butler, who appears to have survived him for forty-four years.

Limerick in the year 1535, in writing an account of what occurred on the occasion to Cromwell, mentions that near Limerick they "mett with Lorde Jamys hys brother ilaw, whyche ys O Brens sone. And hys seyng ys thys to my Lorde Jamys:—' I have marryd your syster; and for bycawys that I have marryd your syster, I have forsakyn my father, myn unkyll, and all my frendes, and my cunterey, to cume too yow to helpe too doo the Kyng servys. I have ben sore wonded, and I have no rewarde, nor nothyng to leve apon. What wold ye have me do? Yff that yt wold plesse the Kynges Grace to take me unto hys servys, and that yow wyll cum in to the cunterey, and bryng with yow a pece of ordynance to wyn a castell, the whyche castell ys namyd Carygoguyllyn [Carrigogunnell], and Hys Grace to geve me that, the whych never was non Ynglyche manes thes 200 yere, and I

wyll desyer the Kyng noo help, nor ayde of no mane, but thys Ynglyche captyn, with hys honderythe and od of Ynglysche men, to goe with me apon my father and myn uncyll, the wyche are the kynges enemys, and apon the Yryche men, that never Ynglysche mane were amonges; and yff that I do hurt or harme, or that ther be eny mystrust, I wyl put in plegys, as good as ye schall requyer, that I schall hurt no Ynglysche mane, but apon the wyld Iresche men that are the Kynges enymes. And for all syche lond, as I schall conquer, yt schall be att the Kynges pleser to sett Ynglysehemen in yt, to be holden of the Kyng, as hys pleser schall be; and I too reffewys all syche Yrishe fashyons, and to order my self after the Ynglyche lawes, and all that I cane make, ore conquer. Off thys I desyer a nawnsware.'"—*State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 285.

[41.] *Hic Jacent Jacobus Lenthaler de Ballyfennon qui obiit primo die Februarii 1597 et Egidia toben ei⁹ uxor q̄ obiit 2 die Mensis novembris 1570 Et Patricius Lenthaler filius secundus eor⁹ qⁱ obiit xxi die Mensis februarii 1607, et Margareta Shee ei⁹ uxor q̄ obiit [] die Mensis []*.

TRANSLATION:—Here lie James St. Leger, of Ballyfennon, who died the 1st day of February, 1597, and Egidia Toben, his wife, who died the 2nd day of the month of November, 1570. And Patrick St. Leger, their second son, who died the 21st day of the month of February, 1607, and Margaret Shee, his wife, who died the [] day of the month of []

A floor-slab, the only ornament sculptured on which is an escutcheon at the right-hand corner, at the top, which is charged with a bend, and over it a legend, very much defaced, but evidently the words *bín gulén argén*, signifying, we presume, argent, a bend gules. The inscription, in Old English characters, runs round the edge till it passes the escutcheon, when it takes an oblique direction, leaving the left-hand corner of the slab plain.

The family for whom this monument was placed in the cathedral probably was planted in Kilkenny by Geoffrey St. Leger, when created Bishop of Ossory in 1260; or they may have made a more ancient settlement in the place, as that prelate was treasurer of the cathedral before his elevation to the episcopal throne. William St. Leger was seneschal of the Liberty of Kilkenny in 1312. He was seated at Tullaghanbrogue, a property which remained in his family until forfeited in the seventeenth century, in consequence of the adherence of his descendants to the cause of the Stuarts. In 1359 King Edward III. ordered "our beloved valet," John de St. Leger, to be paid for the services of himself and another man at arms at 12*d.*, and eighteen hobellars at 4*d.*, per day, in the suite of Almeric de St. Almand, against the O'Mores. This John was "Custos Pacis" of Kilkenny in the following reign, and that office, as well as the shrievalty of the Liberty, was frequently held by members of the family during the two following centuries. The representative of the house in 1537 was styled, in the presentments of the time, "the lord" St. Leger, and denounced as an exactor of coyne and livery from his tenantry. The St. Legers of Ballyfennon, or, as we find it written everywhere save in the inscription above given, Ballyfenner,

Rot. Mem.,
6 Ed. II., m. 32.
Plea Roll,
6 Ed. III., m. 8.

Rot. Mem., 32
& 33 Ed. III.,
m. 19.

MSS., State
Paper Office.

or Ballyfennor, appear to have been an offshoot of the Tullaghanbrogue family, although the armorial insignia on their tomb in the cathedral do not correspond with the arms on monuments of members of the latter house in the churchyard of Burnchurch, county of Kilkenny. These tombs at Burnchurch show escutcheons corresponding exactly with the arms of the present Doneraile family; nevertheless, the seal of Edmond St. Leger, appended to a document of the year 1526, in Kilkenny Castle^a, displays a bend between an annulet and a lion rampant, which resembles more nearly the arms on the monument of the Ballyfennor branch, in the Cathedral. We find Robert St. Leger possessed of Ballyfennor about the year 1560: he was probably father of James, of the monument. Patrick, the second son of James, who, as appears by the inscription, died in 1607, was appointed clerk of the crown and of the peace for the county of Kilkenny on the 1st February, 1581. The elder brother was Robert, who died in the month of August, 1635, leaving the lands of Fennerstown, alias Ballyfennor, and Keilenebolle, alias Kiltreanell, in the county of the city of Kilkenny, to his son James, then aged ten years, but who subsequently, on the 7th May, 1662, was adjudged attainted as having been a leader of Irish rebels, and his property was accordingly confiscated.

*Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny Castle.*

*Inquis. Post
mortem, Com.
Civit. Kilken.,
Car. I., No. 14.*

*Inquis. Com.
Civit. Kilken.,
Temp. Car. II.,
No. 1.*

^a There are several documents in Kilkenny Castle which display the sturdy attitude of the freeholders of the county when they considered themselves unjustly burdened by the ministers of the Crown for State purposes. It must be premised that, in 1524, the Commissioners sent over from England to adjudicate on the differences between the Earls of Kildare and Ormonde, bound the latter lord, under a penalty of 1000 marks, for himself and the freeholders of the county of Kilkenny, that there should be a sufficient force of armed men maintained for the defence of the district, for the support of whom the Earl and freeholders should be rated according to the extent of their respective properties. And in case the freeholders would not consent to contribute, Ormonde was empowered and enjoined to "cesse the men of warre, equally and indifferently, withoute parcialitye;" but in case

he saw reason to increase the ordinary force, he was directed to call together the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants, and do nothing save by their advice and consent; and that the country should "not be chargeid with black men [i.e. men in hempen jacks—see p. 269, *supra*], saving captaynes, sharefes, as allway is usid."—*State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 112. The result was the following curious manifesto of the freeholders of the county of Kilkenny:—

"To all men that this p^rsent wryting shall hir, see, or red, be yt knowyne that wher as the kyngf comisyoners at ther beyng in this land, emong dyu^rs other dyryccions and ordrs takyne by theme, haue ordred that the Erll of Ormond indifferently shold caus eu^rry mane wⁱn his countre to haue suffycent men of warre after the rate of his land as horsemen and kerne, and in cas the awners of the landf wooll not so do that then

[42.] *Hic Jacet Georgius Sabadge filius Georgii Sabadge quondam bñlle Kilkennie burgensis qⁱ obiit [] die mensis [] An. D mcccc[].*

HIC IACET FILIVS MARGARETA [sic]. SAWADGE.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth George, the son of George Savadge, formerly burges of the town of Kilkenny, who died the . . . day of the month of [], A.D. 15[]. Here lieth son of Margaret Sawadge [].

A floor-slab, the centre ornamented with an interlaced segmental cross in relief, resembling that on Bishop Gafney's monument (No. 33, *supra*). The inscriptions run round the edge, and the dates are left imperfect, the tomb having been erected during the life of George Savadge. The first inscription is in Old English characters; the second, which was obviously added at a much later period, is in Roman letters.

The Savages were a respectable mercantile family in Kilkenny, and held municipal offices in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, Robert Savage having been sovereign of the town so early as 1444. *Connell's Book, Kilkenny Castle.*

the sayd Erll shold cesse men of warre equaly to be ressydent vpon the saide land^r for the defence therof, and yf the said Erll sawe needfull that aholding of other men of were shold be broght in to the countre abow the nūbre that wer ressydent in the countre, that then he shold have the consent and agrement of the gentlmen and freholders of the countre thervnto, whych ordre and dyreccion the said Erll Immedyat after his dep'ting frome the said comission^s exhibited and shewed be for all the gentlmen and freholders of his said countre, and for as moche as the said ordre and dyreccion was strang vnto the said gentlmen and freholders and also contrarye to suche customes of retayneing of people as they have vsid at all seasons for ther defence, they wold in no wyse condysend to that dyreccyon but wold that the said Erll shold vsse ther defence

frome tyme to tyme as have done at all other seasons in tymes past except only that the said Erll shold lev^ray no horsmen nore kerne in the countre but only by byll. Itme in wyttens whereof the said gentlmen and freholders have vnto this ther agrement sett ther seallys etc^r. and this ordre to be kep till the said Erll and the freholders of the countre agre to a bett^r ordre. Wryttin the ix day of August, Anny Rygny Regi [sic] Henric^r Octavi xviii^o.

“James Shortall. John Grace. Edmon Sleger [St. Leger]. Patrick Porssell. James Swythman. Roland Barron. Fulc Den. Walter Walsh. Edmond Blanchfell.”

Endorsed:—“An Instrum^t made by the freeholders of the Coñ of Kilke^r to putt in men of warre for defence of the contry to the Earle of Ormōd. Dated the xviii Henrici octavi.”

[43.] *Hic jacet Thomas Sawage quoddā burgensis*
[N]icolaa Shee uxor ei⁹ q̄ obiit [] die mes⁹ [] A° dⁱ mcccc[]
 HARDVS CANTWELL.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Thomas Sawage, formerly burgess [N]icolaa Shee, his wife, who died the . . . day of the month of A.D. 15 [Ri]chard Cantwell.

This is a floor-slab, a portion of which has been broken off and lost. It was ornamented with an interlaced segmental cross, similar to No. 42. The first inscription, in Old English characters, ran round the edge; the second inscription, in Roman letters, runs along by the shaft of the cross, beginning at the base, which is the injured portion of the tomb.

MSS., State Paper Office.

The Most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

MSS., State Paper Office.

The Most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

Thomas Savage was presented by the Irishtown Jury, in 1537, as a “gray merchant” and forestaller. A Thomas Savage, who could scarcely be the same person, was portreve of Irishtown in 1639. A Richard Cantwell was, in 1537, presented by the verdict of the Commons of the town of Kilkenny, as one of two hundred persons engaged in regrating corn, which they bought up in the farmers’ barns at harvest at 2s. per bushel, and sold at the end of the year at 10s. per bushel, to the grievous harm of the poor. This Richard Cantwell served at the same time on the Jury of Irishtown, who presented several other persons as acting most reprehensibly in forestalling and regrating. He was nominated auditor of the accounts of the Corporation of Irishtown in 1552 and 1555.

[44.] *Hic Jacet Dennis Kelly morina uuhelan . A° . dⁱ . M° . c° . cccc . xl []*.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Dennis Kelly [and his wife], Morina Whelan, A.D. 154[].

A floor-slab, ornamented with a segmental cross of the type of the tomb of William Holohan, the weaver, engraved at page 285, *infra*; the shaft, however, near its centre expands into a small circle, in which is cut the sacred monogram, *I. H. S.*, in relief. The shaft is also surrounded by a profusion of interlacing bands. The inscription, which is imperfect in one place from an injury, and

in another from the date having been left partially uncut, is in Old English characters, and runs round the edge of the tomb.

Dennis Kelly was one of the two bailiffs appointed by the Corporation of Irishtown for the year 1575.

The Most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

[45.] *Hic Jacet donat⁹ Brin et Margereta scerlock.*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Donatus Brin and Margaret Scerlock [Sherlock].

A floor-slab, of which the upper portion has been broken away and lost. It was ornamented with a cross, but the shaft, with graduated base, only remains. On the right side are sculptured, in relief, two adzes, an auger, and carpenter's square, one side of which is graduated in inches. On the left side the inscription, in Old English characters, runs parallel with the shaft of the cross. No date was ever carved on the tomb.

[46.] *Et belina Shee uxor dicti thome obiit []*
 *dicti Ricardi obiit*

TRANSLATION:— And Belina Shee, wife of the said Thomas died [] of the said Richard died

A fragment of a floor-slab, with a portion of the base of a cross.

[47.] *dñs de balítobyr ac de cloíghcordeile í tom*
íste

TRANSLATION:— lord of Balintobyr and of Cloighcordeile in the coun[ty of Tipperary] this

A fragment of a floor-slab, with part of the base of a cross. The branch of the Cantwell family settled in the county of Tipperary was descended from Gilbert de Kentewell, who, as appears by the original charter preserved amongst the Ormonde Evidences, was a sub-infeudatory to Theobald Fitz Walter, first Butler of Ireland. The monument, when perfect, probably commemorated a son of William Cantwell, "dominus de Ballyntobyr et Cloghecordely," who, with his wife, Margaret Butler, was buried beneath a monument in Kilcooly Abbey, dated, A.D. 1528.

Transactions of the Kilh. Arch. Soc., vol. iii., p. 381.

TOMBS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—The monuments of this period are numerous, comprising twenty-three bearing dates, besides six undated ones. There are not any effigial tombs in this century—elaborate, but tasteless and clumsy, mural monuments taking their place. The use of the interlaced cross prevailed during the earlier years, but was gradually laid aside.

[48.] *Hic Jacet Petrus Bolger qui obiit 8 die Septembris 1601. Et uxor eius Joanna Walshe quæ obiit 29 die Januarii 1608.*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Peter Bolger, who died on the 8th day of September, 1601, and his wife, Joanna Walshe, who died on the 29th day of January, 1608.

A floor-slab ornamented by a cross of the pattée form, combined with the sacred monogram. On the base of the cross is the name of the sculptor in Roman capitals, as follows:—*OPIFICE ME WALTERO KEREN.* Beneath the I. H. S., at either side of the stem of the cross, is a shield. That at the dexter side bears an animal's head (resembling a rabbit) coupéd, in chief three trefoils, impaling Walshe. The shield on the sinister side is charged with the arms of Walshe, a chevron between three arrow-heads erect. All carved in relief, but now nearly obliterated. The inscription, in Old English characters, runs round the edge.

MSS., State Paper Office. Harleian Miscellany, ed. 1810, vol. vi., p. 451.

Barnaby Bolger was denounced in the presentments of 1537 as a great forestaller, and Bishop Bale enumerates him amongst those who gave opposition to his proceedings. Pierce Bolgier, evidently the person for whom this monument was placed, was amongst the traders who were disfranchised by the Corporation of Kilkenny in 1597, for upholding the conflicting prerogatives claimed by the Corporation of Irishtown.

MSS., Town Clerk's Office.

[49.] *Hic jacet Joānes Marob Quondā Civitatis Kilkenniæ burgensis qⁱ obiit 23^o die Decembris 1601 Et Margareta Riane uxor eius q^a obiit 9^o die Januarii 1609.*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth John Marob, formerly a burgess of the city of Kilkenny, who died the 23rd day of December, 1601; and Margaret Riane, his wife, who died the 9th day of January, 1609.

A floor-slab ornamented with the sacred monogram in relief, having a small

Maltese cross arising from the letter H. The inscription, in Old English characters, runs round the edge of the tomb.

In 1593 John Marob, cottoner, served on a coroner's jury, held in the Irishtown, on the body of Edmund Loughnan, who fell into the river in a fit, and was drowned. He appears, also, to have been one of the bailiffs of Irishtown in 1577.

MSS, Town Clerk's Office. The most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

[50.] HIC · JACET · CORPVS · DIANÆ · WOODLEFE · QUÆ · OBIIT · 13 · DIE · IANVARI · A · D · 1604 ·

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth the body of Diana Woodlefe, who died the 13th day of January, A.D. 1604.

This monument is a simple panel set in the wall of the ancient chapter-house, bearing an escutcheon charged with a chevron (with crescent for difference) between three trefoils (or, perhaps, leaves of the woodsorrel, in allusion to the family name), impaling a chevron (with crescent for difference) between three pheons.

Robert Woodliffe was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms in Ireland, 20th September, 1629; and in 1652 John Woodliffe was added to the Commission for holding a High Court of Justice at Kilkenny, for trying all murderers and despoilers of English Protestants. *Liber Munerum.*

[51.] Hic Jacet Gulielm⁹ hollechan de Civitate [sic] kilkenniae burgēs' qⁱ obiit .i. die Januarii. 1609 Et Morona Macher ei⁹ uxor q^z obiit [] .

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth William Hollechan, burgess of the city of Kilkenny, who died the 1st day of January, 1609, and Morona Macher, his wife, who died [] .



No. 53.

A floor-slab, accurately figured in the accompanying engraving. At the left

side of the shaft of the cross are carved the fly-shuttle, temples, frame of a spring-loom, and spool of yarn (the last nearly obliterated), emblems of the trade of the deceased, who was a weaver.

The Hollechans, or Holohans, were a trading family settled in Kilkenny from a very early period.

[52.] A plain mural tablet set in the wall of the ancient chapter-house. It is carved with a shield bearing three horses' heads coupéd and bridled for Horsfall, impaling a saltire engrailed between four cross crosslets fitchée. This tablet, and the uninscribed altar-tomb beneath it, may have been erected to the memory of John Horsfall, Bishop of Ossory, who died on the 13th of February, 1609, and, according to Ware, was buried in his cathedral "sub plano marmore."

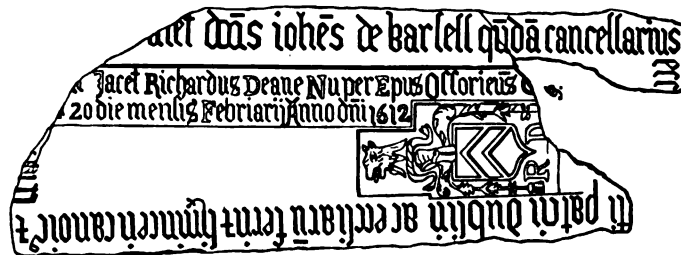
Hibernia Sacra,
p. 149.

For a memoir of Bishop Horsfall the reader is referred to the proposed "History of the See of Ossory."

[53.] [H]ic Jacet Richardus Deane Nuper Epus Ossoriens' Q[ui] obiit] 20 die mensis Februarij Anno dñi 1612.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Richard Deane, late Bishop of Ossory, who died the 20th day of the month of February, A.D. 1612.

This memorial of the bishop has been carved on the slab originally commemorating John de Carlell, who died in 1394. The shield, as will be seen by



No. 54.

the accompanying engraving, bears two chevronells within a bordure for Deane; crest, a lion's head erased.

A memoir of Bishop Deane shall be given in the proposed "History of the See of Ossory."

[54.] *Hic · requiescit · Elizabetha · Barlow · Jonæ · Wheeler · Ossoriensis · Episcopi · filia · Rad[ulp]hi · Barlow · Archidiaconi · m̄densis · Coniux · quæ · ex · puerperio · Obiit · 3^o · Decembris · 1613.*

Remember · thy · Creator · before · y^e · wheel · be · broken · at · the · Cistern.

TRANSLATION:—Here rests Elizabeth Barlow, daughter of Jonas Wheeler, Bishop of Ossory, wife of Ralph Barlow, archdeacon of Meath, who died in childbirth on the 3rd of December, 1613.

A plain altar-tomb, the side slab of which originally belonging to an earlier monument, is carved with six niches enriched with figures. The table is molded at the edge. The inscription runs round the verge. The quotation from Ecclesiastes is in a circle in the centre.

The lady for whom this monument was erected was, as is stated in the inscription, daughter to Dr. Jonas Wheeler—a native of Oxford, or, as some say, of Devonshire, an alumnus of Oxford, and chaplain to King James I.—who having first received an appointment to the deanery of Christ Church, Dublin, was promoted to the bishopric of Ossory on the 9th May, 1613, and filled the see for twenty-seven years. Her husband, Ralph, or Randolph Barlow, was a Doctor in Divinity of the University of Cambridge. In 1612 he was appointed a prebendary of Kildare, in 1613 Archdeacon of Meath, and the following year Dean of Leighlin. In 1615 he became Precentor of the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny, still retaining his deanery and archdeaconry. In 1618 he was appointed Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, and in 1629 was elevated to the archbishopric of Tuam, where he died, and was buried, in 1637–8, in his sixty-sixth year. The date on the monument and the quotation from Scripture are much worn, and were not legible to O'Phelan; however, on close examination, they read as above given. Had the monument been erected before 1613, Dr. Barlow would not have been styled, in the inscription, Archdeacon of Meath; whilst, if its date was subsequent to that year, he would have received the higher title of Dean of Leighlin, or of Christ Church, or of Archbishop Tuam. Mrs. Barlow's father, Bishop Wheeler, died at Dunmore, in the Queen's County, and was also buried in the cathedral of St. Canice, in 1640. Of his tomb, however, there has been no trace within the past century.

Harris's Ware,
vol. i., p. 420.

Cotton's Fasti.

Harris's Ware,
vol. i., p. 616.

Id., p. 420.

[55.] **Edmonde brenan. Robert Rinighan. Ed[ward Rinighan.] 1615.**

The most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

A fragment of a floor-slab, and, perhaps, like No. 53, a palimpsest, having apparently been an old coffin-shaped tomb, on which this later inscription was cut in Old English characters. The third name was legible when O'Phelan compiled his Catalogue of the inscriptions, and is given by him as Edward Rinighan. Edmond Brennan was "Cessor of the Priester-money" of St. Canice's parish in 1558, bailiff of Irishtown in 1555, and one of the constables in 1566. Edward Rineghan was admitted free of that Corporation on the 18th June, 1609, "for the fine of xxi^d stg. and i^b of wax." In the month of October following he was appointed bailiff; and at the same time Robert Rineghan was nominated one of the appraisers of meat in the town. The name, in the form of Renehan, is still found in Kilkenny, of which county the Rev. Laurence F. O'Renehan, D.D., the present President of Maynooth College, is a native.

[56.] **In obitum probæ ac modestæ admodum mulieris Margaretæ Wale uxoris Joannis Namoy p Kelly generosi Conachtensis obiit 2^o Maii A^o d^o 1623.**

Ipsius Mariti funebre

Hexastichon

**Grata deo delecta toro dilecta marito
Moribus et bita hic culta sepulta jacet
Illius Ingenium Ingenuum pietasq' fidesq'
Dona fuere suo dos Satis Ampla bito
Quanquam Jure suo sua Corpora Terra Reposcat
Tanta bit digna est hospite Terra Tamen.***

TRANSLATION:—In memory of the death of the right virtuous and modest woman, Margaret Wale, wife of John Namoy O'Kelly, of Connaught, gentleman. She died on the 2nd of May, A. D. 1623.

A plain tablet, with an inscription in raised Old English characters.

Of the family of De Valle, Vayl, Wale, or Wall, enough has been already

See pp. 158,
supra.

* To save space, the authors have abstained from giving translations of this and subsequent poetical epitaphs: indeed, the involved style in which they are composed scarcely bears an English dress—their sole merit consisting in an ingenious play on words.

said. The husband of Margaret Wale, who has sought to commemorate, at the same time, his wife, and his own poetical powers, by the above inscription, was the Shane Na Moy O'Kelly who derived his descent from Donnchadh, twentieth O'Kelly, of Hy-Many, and was settled at Criaghe, now Creagh, in the barony of Moycarn, adjoining Ballinasloe, in the county of Roscommon. Dr. O'Donovan, the learned editor of "The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many," is unable to say whether this John O'Kelly "has now a living representative." Perhaps we should look for his descendants amongst the numerous families of that name in the county and city of Kilkenny.

[57.] *Venerabili viro Gulielmo Johnson, Decano Ecclesie S^t Canici, avo materno suo, Et patri suo, Thomæ Wale, eiusdem Ecclesie Thesaurario; Necnon sibi, suisq' posteris, Monumentū hoc posuit Robertus Wale, Thesaurarius, Octob. 14 Anno Dom. 1634.*

Quæ pigra cadavera pridem
Tumulis putrefacta jacebant,
Volucres rapiuntur in auras
Animas comitata priores.
Hinc maxima cura sepultis
Impenditur, hinc resolutos
Honor ultimus accipit artus,
Et funeris ambitus ornat.
Sint ut sua præmia laudi,
Iansoni gloria splendet,
Omnem vulgata per orbem.

Candore nitentia claro
Prætendere lintea mos est:
Aspersaq' Myrrha sabæo
Corpus Medicamine servat.
Quidnam sibi saxa cavata,
Quid pulchra volunt Monumenta
Res, quæ nisi creditur illis,
Non Mortua, sed data somno.
Iam sex lustra subinde
Prudens, gravis, integer ævo
Divina volumina pandit.

Gulielmus Johnson Decanus Ecclesie cathedralis S^t Canici Kilkenniæ, qui Wigornii natus, Cantabrigiæ educatus, obiit Kilkenniæ, 7^{mo} die Mensis Octobris, 1581.

Hic pietate pares clausa conduntur in urna
Christicolæ, Christi Munere, sorte pares.
Sorte pari sic Morte Mori concessit Iesus
Astrigeroq' polo vivere sorte pari.

TRANSLATION:—For the venerable man, William Johnson, dean of the church of St. Canice, his maternal grandfather, and for his father, Thomas Wale, treasurer of the same church; also for himself and his posterity, Robert Wale, treasurer, placed this monument, October 14, A. D. 1634.

William Johnson, dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, who, born at Worcester, educated at Cambridge, died at Kilkenny on the 7th day of the month of October, 1581.

Now merely a tablet, the remains of an elaborate mural Renaissance monument, similar to Bishop Roth's (No. 59, *infra*). It is now placed in the wall of the north side aisle. The inscription is incised in small Roman and italic letters.

Cotton's *Fasti*,
vol. ii., p. 414.

Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.

Regal Visitation,
quoted in
Cotton's *Fasti*,
vol. ii., p. 302.

William Johnson^a appears to have been one of the earliest teachers who presided over the grammar school founded by Pierce, Earl of Ormonde, and his lady, in the cathedral precinct of Kilkenny, indeed he was probably the first to fill the situation of Master. James Bicton, Dean of St. Canice, in his will, preserved in the archives of the University of Oxford, and dated in the year 1552, thus refers to him:—"Mr. Johnson Scholem^r to my Lorde Ormūd owethe me twenty shylyng, or their about, and weather yt be more or lesse I referr yt to his consyence." In 1559 Johnson was himself promoted to the deanery, which he held for twenty-three years^b. He seems to have acted as agent to Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, and was nominated a trustee to the disposition of all his honours, manors, and estates, made by the Earl in 1576. The inscription states the degree of relationship which existed between Dean Johnson and the family of Wale, with whom his name is associated on the tomb. Thomas Wale was collated to the treasurership of the cathedral on the 23rd June, 1596. His son, Robert Wale, who erected the monument, was collated to the same office in 1610, and still held it in 1624, as the inscription on the tomb shows; and we also find him filling the situation of Registrar of the diocese of Ossory, when making his will in the year 1635. A copy of that document is preserved in the diocesan Registrar's office, and from the number and nature of the bequests which he makes to his relatives, he must have been a man of wealth. He bequeathes to various persons a large number of horses, and leaves his "great fornace" to his daughter, after the death of his wife; but the most curious bequest is that of his office of Registrar, which he wills away as if it were personal property. He states it to be his desire "that my man William Connell shall enjoy the Registrar's place during my sonnes lyfe, if the said William lives so long, he paying £20 sterling yearly to my sonne William, for and out of it, viz. £10 yearly at Michaelmas, and £10 at Easter; conditionally that the said

^a A careful search in the records of the University of Cambridge, kindly made by the Registrar, the Rev. Joseph Romilly, has been un-

productive of any notice of Dean Johnson.

^b His epitaph tells us that he was in the ministry for six "lusters," or thirty years.

William [Connell] shall faithfully and truly carry himself in y^e said office." The intention of the testator, however strange the arrangement may seem, was carried out, for William Connell subsequently filled the office of Registrar of the diocese of Ossory, and founded a family in the city of Kilkenny who took a prominent part in its municipal affairs during the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

[58.] HERE LYETH BVRIED THE BODY OF M^{RS} MARY STOVGHTON, WIFE TO M^R ANTHONY STOVGHTON OF THE CITY OF DVBLIN GENT, & DAUGHTER TO THE RIGHT WOR^FVLL HENRY MAYNWARINGE OF THE CITTIE OF KILKENNY ESQ. & ONE OF THE MASTERS OF HIS MA^{TY} HIGH COVRT OF CHANCERY IN IRELAND. WHO DIED IN CHILDBIRTH, OF HER THIRD CHILD NAMED HENRY. THE THIRD DAY OF IANVARY 1631. & ARE BOTH HERE INTOMBED TOGETHER.

E P I T A P H.

A vertuous mother, and her New-borne Sonne
 (Parted) here meet, and end where they begun.
 Shee from her Bearing-bed, Hee from the wombe
 Exchang'd their Living graues for this dead Tombe.
 This Pile, and Epitaph, sceme vainely spent,
 Goodnesse reares her a surer monument.
 No curious hand can cut, noe lab'ring head
 Bring more to prayse her then the life shee lead.
 Bemone that readest! and liue as well (as shee)
 Soe shalt thou want nor tombe nor elogie.

*Mole sub hęc tegitur (Lector) dignissima coniux,
 Dans proli vitam, perdidit ipsa suam.
 Quam si forma, fauor populi, stirps, res satis ampla,
 Si pudor, ingenium, si iuvenile decus.
 Si quid in humanis quęquam seruaret in cęuū,
 Mortis ab incursu sospes et illa foret.
 Parte tamen meliore sui, famaq' superstes
 Quę licet, æterno nomine viva viget.*

Hoc benè promeritum benè grati munus amoris
 Coniugem in amissam coniugis ecce sui est.

A tablet now fixed in the wall of the north side aisle. Like No. 57, what remains is but part of an elaborate Renaissance mural monument.

The Staughtons and Mainwarings both appear to have settled in Ireland about the reign of Elizabeth, at least we find either name first connected with Government offices from that period. In 1586 Anthony Staughton was appointed clerk of the Court of Castle Chamber, Dublin; and in 1606 his brother John was associated with him in the same office, with reversion at his death to Anthony's son, Anthony, junior, who appears to have been the husband of the lady for whom the monument was erected. At the same time, Anthony, senior, and John, were collectors of the revenue at Dublin; and in 1613 Thomas Staughton, gentleman, was Member of Parliament for the borough of Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny. Edward Mainwaring was searcher and gauger of the port of Drogheda in 1595; and Henry, who held the Archdeaconry of Ossory in the year 1610, was appointed a Master in Chancery in 1619. Matthew Mainwaring was appointed usher of the Court of Wards in 1621, and constable of the Castle of Dublin in 1635. Henry the father of Mrs. Staughton, received a grant of a portion of the precinct of the dissolved abbey of the Black Friars of Kilkenny, and the impropriate rectories of Three-castles, Dysert, and Kilfera, in the same county, which passed as the marriage portion of another of his daughters, Elizabeth, into the family of Bulckeley, and thence by another intermarriage to that of Tynte, who still hold them. Henry Mainwaring died on the 1st March, 1635, and was buried in St. Mary's chapel, in the cathedral of St. Canice, but no monument appears to have been erected to his memory. His widow, who was his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph Skipwith, Esq., of Parkbury, Hertfordshire, is stated in the depositions of 1641 to have been remarried to a Mr. Philip Purcell; and the deposition of Joseph Wheeler, John Keevaun, and Thomas Lewis, detail the particulars of a villanous trick of which she and her granddaughter—the latter the child of the Mrs. Staughton of the monument—were the victims, at the period of the Confederate Catholics' occupation of Kilkenny. An impostor, named John Heydon, falsely pretending to be the son and heir of Sir Richard Heydon, a member of the Privy Council, came to Kilkenny and represented himself to the Protestants there as an agent of the English Government, privately engaged in performing important services for the State. In this way he obtained from them large

Liber Munerum,
part ii., p. 180.

Id., part i.,
p. 22.

Id., part ii.,
p. 158.

Cotton's Fasti.

Lib. Mun.,
part ii., p. 21.

Id., part ii.,
p. 179.

Id., p. 115.

*Archdall's
Lodge's Peerage*,
vol. v., p. 22.

Id.

sums of money, which he promised to have repaid from the Exchequer; he found Mrs. Purcell particularly gullible in these money transactions, and thus became emboldened to practise more largely upon her credulity, in the manner thus related in the deposition alluded to:—

“Allsoe hee posised Mrs. Purcell, alias Maynwarring, with forged letters, both from hir sonn [-in-law] Mr. Anthony Stoughton and hir sonn in law Mr. Bulckeley, that she should have great care of him the s^d Heydon lying in restraint [he was imprisoned in the gaol of Kilkenny by the Supreme Council, or local authorities, as a suspicious person], that hee should be suplied by hir, and withall to match hir grandchild Mr. Stoughton’s daughter unto him, which was, as the letters mencioned, a great match for hir; which the said Mrs. Purcell believed, and theruppon she consented, and matched hir grandchild unto him, to hir utter ruin and overthrow, believing fully that both the letters weare pened by the hands of both hir sons in law.”

The second husband of Mrs. Mainwaring was probably Philip Purcell of Ballyfoyle, a member of the Supreme Council, and one who exerted himself most creditably for the protection of the Protestant inhabitants of Kilkenny during the great rebellion.

[59.]

DEO. OPT. MAX.

ET

MEMORLÆ DAVIDIS EPISCOPI OSSO
RIEN̄ QVI HANC ECCLESIAM CATHEDRA
LEM S^{no} CANICO SACRAM
[PRISTINO CVLTVI RESTITVIT
HERESIM SCHISMAQVE EXINDE
EMVNDANS*.]

ANNO DÑI 1642.

*Ortus cuncta suos repetant matremq' requirunt,
Et redit ad nihilum quod fuit ante nihil.*

TRANSLATION:—To God most excellent, most mighty; and to the memory of David, Bishop of Ossory, who this cathedral church, sacred to St. Canice [restored to its pristine worship, cleansing it from heresy and schism] A.D. 1642.

* The words between brackets are supplied from tradition; which also avers that they were erased by order of Bishop Parry through a mistaken zeal for the Protestant religion.—Harris'

An elaborate Renaissance mural monument, for a full description of which the reader is referred to Harris and Shee. In Harris's time the armorial devices and figures showed the remains of curious gilding and painting. The monument bears the arms of the Roth family,—a stag trippant by an oak tree, surmounted by the hat, labelled and tasselled in three rows, peculiar to bishops on the Continent, and differing from the cardinal's hat only in the colour and number of tassels^a,—beneath is the motto, VIRTUTE NON VI. It appears by the passage in Harris's *Ware* above referred to, that this monument holds its original position in the Lady Chapel.

Harris's *Ware*,
vol. i., p. 427.
Shee's *St. Canice*,
pp. 58-60.

*Liber Primus
Kilkennia*, p. 3.
Connell's Book,
Ormonde MSS.,
Kilkenny
Castle.

The family of Roth, Rooth, or Rothe, were settled in Kilkenny at an early period. In 1373 John Rothe bought the murage of the town of Kilkenny for two years, paying for it nine marks of silver. In 1403 Thomas Roth was sovereign of the town, and the same office was filled in 1440, 1449, and 1465 by John Roth. From this period down to the end of the seventeenth century the family of Roth took a leading part in the municipal government and affairs of Kilkenny^b. The family spread into many branches; but, in the absence of a complete pedigree, we have found it impossible to trace the particular line which gave birth to David Roth, afterwards Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory. That his brother was Edward Roth, a merchant of Kilkenny, we learn from a manuscript preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; and it is probable that this was the same Edward Rooth who, with four others, signed the articles of surrender when Kilkenny was delivered up to Cromwell on March 27, 1650, and remained a hostage in the hands of the Parliamentarians for the due performance of the stipulations on the part of the citizens and garrison. An inscription occurring on an original portrait of Bishop Roth, still preserved, and to be hereafter more fully described, proves that he was born in the year

MS., E. 3, 8.

Borlace's *Irish
Rebellion*.
Ed. 1743, Ap-
pendix, p. 20.

Ware, vol. i., p. 427, and Shee's *St. Canice*, p. 54. The chisel-marks show that three lines have been effaced, and as the yet remaining portion of the inscription is here printed as cut on the monument, it will be apparent that the words supplied do not quite fill up the hiatus.

^a The bishop's hat was green, and had three, and sometimes four rows of tassels, a cardinal's red, with five rows. The occurrence of this

bearing is so very rare in Great Britain, that it would seem to give support to the tradition that Bishop Roth's monument was the work of an Italian artist.—Shee's *St. Canice*, p. 59.

^b For an account of the ancient residence of the Roth family in Kilkenny, see a paper, by one of the authors, on the Ancient Street Architecture of Kilkenny.—*Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeol. Society*, vol. i., p. 41.

1572. David Roth studied on the Continent, and became a Master and Doctor in Theology of the Irish College of Douay. He early distinguished himself by his devotion to literature, and must have composed a portion of his "Analecta Sacra," &c., before 1611. According to De Burgo, at a consistory held in October, 1618, he was promoted, in his forty-fifth year, by Pope Paul V. to the see of Ossory, after the death of Thomas Strong^a, the see having been many years vacant. De Burgo, who had access to the Papal records, is good authority in this matter; yet it is worthy of note that the Regal Visitation, held in Kilkenny on the 13th of July, 1615, under the head of "Priests & Friars, &c., in the Diocese of Ossory," notes "S^r David Rooth the titular Bp. of Ossory resorting to the City of Kilkenny;" and a contemporary pedigree of the Langton family, in the possession of the executor of the late Michael Comerford, of Kilkenny, implies the existence of "a Catholic bishop" in Kilkenny in 1606. Roth was R. C. Vicar-General of Armagh for many years before he became R. C. Bishop of Ossory. In 1619 he printed his treatise "De Processu Martyriali," &c. The next year saw his "Brigida Thaumaturga," &c., issue from the press, and in 1621 was printed the tract called "Hibernia Resurgens," &c., which was published under the assumed name of Donat Roirk. Messingham has printed, in his "Florilegium," two other tracts of his, viz., "De Nominibus Hiberniæ," and "Elucidationes in vitam S. Patricii a Jocelino scriptam." Ussher saw, and quoted from, a MS. account of the Irish Saints drawn up by him, termed "Hierographia Hiberniæ;" and Roth himself tells us, in the Preface to the third Part of the "Analecta," that he purposed publishing a full and large Church History of Ireland, of which the MS. "De Ossoriensi Diœcesi," already so often quoted in this work, and of which copies are extant in the Libraries of the British Museum, and Trinity College, Dublin, appears to have been a portion. Roth's learning and devotion to the antiquities of Ireland recommended him to Ussher, and, although opposed in politics and religion, a literary intercourse was kept up between the two prelates. In the stirring times of the Confederates, David Roth took an active and prominent part,—indeed Lynch tells us that he was the first to organize his party, "prima illa, non turbida et tumultuaria, sed

Alithinologia,
p. 97.

Harris's Ware,
Writers of Ire-
land, p. 124.

Hibn. Domini-
cana. Suppl.,
p. 869.

Id., ib.

Harris's Ware,
Writers of Ire-
land, pp. 124,
125.

Primord., p. 737.
Sylog. Epist.,
p. 125, apud
Ware.
Alithinologia,
pp. 74, 99.

^a De Burgo says that Strong had long before retired to Spain, and died there, A. D. 1601, a suffragan to the Archbishop of Compostella.—*Hibn. Dominicana*, Supl. p. 869. From Strong the Roman Catholic succession in Ossory is derived; that of the Established Church from Thonory.

The Most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

Id.

ordinata coniunctio fœderatorum . . . ab illo profecta esse dicitur:" but his name was early distinguished by unflinching opposition to the suicidal policy of the Ultramontane or Nuncio's party. In 1642 the portreve of Irishtown was sworn in before him, "he being then dwelling at y^e Deans house ;" and his autograph signature appears appended to the record. In September, 1649, Roth made choice of a portreve for the last time, and he was within the walls of Kilkenny when it surrendered to Cromwell, on the 27th of March, 1650^a. That the aged bishop (he was now seventy-eight) did not



No. 55.

suffer either death or indignity at the hands of the Parliamentarians, is evident from the silence^b of Arsdekin, who was a native of Kilkenny himself, and

^a "Donec tandem ruentis patriæ casum secuta, cum suo Antistite Davide Rotho in hostis potestatem [Kilkennia] redacta est."—Richardi Arsdekin *Apparatus Doctrinæ Sacræ*; Antverpiæ,

1686, tom. iii., p. 200.

^b One of Arsdekin's principal themes—indeed, that in which he is engaged when he records the surrender of Kilkenny—concerned the suffer-

a contemporary. Of the year of his death no record has been preserved, the occupation of the cathedral by the Cromwellians fully accounting for his obit not having been inscribed on the monument, which, as in many other instances already noticed, was erected during his lifetime; but—as we learn from De Burgo, on the authority of Edmund O'Dempsey, R. C. Bishop of Leighlin, a contemporary of Roth—he died in his native country. That Bishop Roth's death occurred before the Restoration appears from Peter Walsh's "History of the Irish Remonstrance,"—Kelly, R. C. Archbishop of Armagh, Mageoghegan, R. C. Bishop of Meath, and Swiny, R. C. Bishop of Kilmore, "being," according to that author, "the only bishops of their religion then in Ireland"^a.

Hibern. Dominicana, p. 489.

Tom. i., p. 4.

That our readers may know of what kind was the "presence" of that man who was the friend of Ussher and a notable leader of the Confederate Catholics, we have, by the kind permission of the late Colonel Bryan, engraved the interesting contemporary portrait of Bishop Roth, now in the possession of George Leopold Bryan^b, of Jenkinstown, Esq., a representative, in the female line, of that branch of the Roth family to which the Bishop belonged^c. The painting is a half-length, and well executed, probably by one of the Italian artists brought over, it is said, by Rinuccini, representing a venerable man with a flowing beard and moustache. The arms in the upper right-hand angle are those of Roth:—Or, a stag argent trippant by a tree proper, surmounted by a bishop's hat, labelled and tasselled; underneath the shield of arms is the following inscription:—A. D. 1644. DAVID EPISCOP⁹ OSSORIENSIS A^o Æ⁷¹⁸ 72 HOMO PVTREDO ET FILI⁹ HOMINIS VERMIS. JOB. 25; at the left-hand upper corner, surrounded by a glory, are the words:—BEATI PACIFICI QUONIAM FILII DEI VOCABVNTVR; and on the edge of the table on which the Bishop leans:—IN IMAGINE PERTRANSIT HOMO ET FRVSTRA CONTVRBATVR. Psalm 38. The Bryan family also

ings of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity in Ireland; so that his silence is conclusive.

^a James Phelan, who succeeded Roth, was not appointed until some time after June, 1666. He signed a document of this date as "James Phelan, Doctor of Divinity, Parson of Callan, Dean of Ossory, Protonotary Apostolical."—*History of the Irish Remonstrance*, tom. i., p. 684.

^b For an account of the other interesting relics

in the possession of the Bryan family see a paper, by one of the authors, in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæol. Society*, vol. i., p. 92. The chalices and vestments there described have, we understand, been since presented to the Roman Catholic cathedral at Kilkenny.

^c The drawing from which our engraving has been made was executed on the block by Mr. E. Fitzpatrick, of Freshford.

Harris's *Ware*,
vol. I., p. 426.

possess a picture of Thomas Roth, R. C. Dean of St. Canice, probably a relative of the Bishop's, as the latter resided in the Deanery House after A. D. 1641. This picture is also a half-length, and represents a younger man than the Bishop, with dark eyes and a moustache. He is robed in the sacerdotal dress, portions of which are richly embroidered. On one side of the figure is a shield, bearing quarterly 1st and 4th Roth, 2nd and 3rd gules, a panther or lion rampant gardant, a mullet argent for difference; on the other side is the following inscription:—THOMAS ROTH PROTONOTARIUS APOSTOLICVS PRIOR COMMEND. MONASTERII S^{TI} IOANNIS EVANGELISTÆ KILKEN. ET DECANVS ECCLESIE CATHEDRALIS S^{TI} CANICI OSSOREN. DIÆCESIS. Æ^{TIA} SUÆ 64. ANNO 1645. Both paintings are by the same hand. For an engraving of the silver monstrance made for the cathedral in Bishop Roth's time, see p. 40, *supra*. A silver spur, and a plain silver-gilt reliquary cross, traditionally said to have belonged to David Roth, are also extant at Jenkinstown.

[60.] HIC · IACET · GVLIELMVS · KELLY · QVONDAM · CIVITATIS · KILKENIÆ · BVRGENSIS · QVI · OBIT · 27 · MENSIS · MAY · ANNO · D^M · 1644 · ET · VXOR · EIVS · CHARA · MARGARETA · PHELAN · QVÆ · OBIT · 2 · DIE · OCTOBRIS · ANNO · D^M · 1635.

MISEREMINI · MEI · MISEREMINI · MEI · SALTEM · VOS · AMICI · MEI · IOB · 19 · c.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth William Kelly, formerly burgess of the city of Kilkenny, who died on the 27th of the month of May, A. D. 1644, and his wife Margaret Phelan, who died on the 2nd day of October, A. D. 1635. Have pity upon me, &c.

A low altar-tomb, apparently in its original position. Beneath the inscription in raised Roman capitals, is a plain segmental cross, with the sacred monogram and the three nails in the centre; at foot, a skull and cross bones; above in the wall is a tablet, with a shield bearing two lions rampant supporting a castle, triple-towered, two ropes depending from the battlements, a crescent for difference, for Kelly; impaling a cross engrailed between four martlets, for Phelan. The crest is, apparently, a weasel. Beneath is the motto, TVRRIS FORTIS MIHI DEVS, the letters W. K., M. F., the date 1642, and the distich:—

SPIRITVS AMBORVM CÆLI VERSATVR IN AVLA
INFRA NVNC QVORVM CORPORA TERRA CAPIT.

William Kelly was admitted free of the Irishtown of Kilkenny on the 30th November, 1605, paying a fine to the Corporation, for his freedom and burgage, of 2s. 11d. and 1 lb. of wax. He was elected portreve of Irishtown for the year 1611, and served the office of sheriff of Kilkenny in 1630.

The Most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.
Connell's Book, Kilkenny Castle.

[61.]

D. O. M.

ELOQVIO CLARVS VIRTUTE FIDEQ' IACOBVS
CÆLVM MENTE HABITANS HOC HABET OSSA SOLO.

[DÑS] IACOBVS CLARVS PROTONOT[ARIVS ET REC]TOR ECCLESIE D. IOANNIS, [DI]ŒCESIS O[SSORIENSIS] VIR BONVS ET BENIGN[VS.] VERECVNDVS VISV · MORIBVS MODESTVS · ELOQVIO DECORVS · A PVERO IN VIRTVTIBVS EXERCITATVS · DEO DEVOTVS · HOMINIBVS AMABILIS · ET OMNIBVS BONORVM OPERVM EXEMPLIS PRECLARVS · OBIT AN^o 1643 · 14 NOV^{mb} · SVB AVRORAM · CVM MAXIMO PIORVM HOMINVM LVCTV.

TRANSLATION:—To God most excellent, most mighty. &c. Master James Clere, protonotary and rector of the church of St. John of the diocese of [Ossory], a good man, in aspect modest, in morals chaste, in speech decorous, from his youth exercised in virtues, devoted to God, beloved by man, a bright example of all good works, died in the year 1643, on the 14th of November, about day-break, to the very great sorrow of pious men.

A floor-slab, the upper portion of which is ornamented by a sculptured representation of an altar, with a chalice and the Host, and at either side a candle lighting in a candlestick, all beneath an arch. Under this is the inscription in raised Roman characters, and at foot the arms of the family of Clere—a fess between three spread eagles—surmounted by a hat labelled and tasselled; below in a scroll are the words JACOBUS CLARUS.

The Cleres were a respectable family long settled in Kilkenny, where their descendants still remain in the grade of respectable tradesmen. The family burying-place was, and still is, St. Patrick's churchyard, where several old monuments of its members remain. The tomb under consideration was placed in the cathedral whilst that building was in possession of the Confederate Catholics. A James Clere was Dean of St. Canice's during almost the entire first half of the sixteenth century, who, besides his ecclesiastical office, discharged the duties of steward or agent to Pierce Earl of Ormonde, and his son,

Ormonde MSS.

Cotton's *Fasti*. Earl James. In 1582 another of the name, David Cleere, filled the office of dean of this cathedral.

[62.]

D. O. M.

Ad pietatis Et Mortalitatís Memoriam clarissimus Et Nobilissimus Dominus D. EDMUNDVS Blanchuille Eques Auratus ·D· De Blanchuills Towne, Killmodemucke, &c., ac nobilissima D· ELIZABETHA BUTLERA, Vxor pientissima, perillustri Domino GIBALDO Blanchuille, filio charissimo Primo-genito, viro Optimo, Immatura Morte prærepto, sibi, Liberis, posterisq' suis, Monumentum Hoc Erexerunt Mense Augusto 1647. GIBALDVS obiit 21º. Februarij 1646. Edmundus [] Elizabetha []
Requiescant in Pace Amen.

Epitaphium.

*Qui patri in terris succedere debuit hæres,
In tumulo huic hæres cogitur esse pater.
Est oriens primus moriens postremus, et idem est
Ortu posterior interitūq' prior.
Mors hæc mira facit, mutat quadrata rotundis,
Mors fera, quæ gnatum sic rapit ante patrem,
Et gnatum virtute senem, juvenemq' diebus,
Gnatum Blanchuelicæ spem columenq' domus.
Sed quoniam fera mors vitam sine labe caducam
Abstulit, æternum dat diadema deus.*

TRANSLATION:—To God most excellent, most mighty. In memory of piety and mortality, the most renowned and most noble lord, lord Edmund Blanchville, Eques Auratus, lord of Blanchvillestown, Killmodemucke, &c., and the most noble lady Elizabeth Butler, [his] most pious consort, have erected this monument for their most dear first-born son, the very illustrious lord Gerald Blanchville, a most excellent man, snatched away by untimely death; [also] for themselves, their children, and posterity, in the month of August, 1647. Gerald died on the 21st of February, 1646. Edmund [] Elizabeth []
May they rest in peace. Amen.

A Renaissance mural monument, like that of Bishop Roth. Above, at each side of the inscription, are two shields, the dexter one bearing, per pale indented, gules and ermine, for Blanchville; the sinister charged with the Ormonde arms, as borne by Thomas, the tenth Earl, but within an engrailed bordure. Above is a shield impaling the two escutcheons just described, with the motto,—DEXTERA DOMINI EXALTAVIT ME. The monument remains in its original position, against

the north wall of the ancient chapter-house, but the stairs to the south gallery of the choir hide a portion of it, including the crest of the upper escutcheon. The inscriptions are in small Roman letters, and incised. Traces of colour remain on the shields of arms.

The Anglo-Norman family of Blanchville, or Blanchfield, were early settlers in the county of Kilkenny. In the year 1303 Nicholas de Blancheville was seneschal of Kilkenny; and in 1312 Richard Blanchville appears in the public records as executor of the will of Nicholas, then lately deceased. In 1335 John de Blauncheville was amongst the knights summoned to attend John Darcy, the Justiciary, with arms and horses from Ireland, in his expedition to Scotland. In 1377 William Ilger, late Escheator of Ireland, died seised of the ward and marriage of the heir of John Fitz Richard Blanchevyld, who possessed forty-one acres of land at Trydenston, at a rent of 3s. 4d. per annum. This property at Treadingstown, adjoining Bennettsbridge, his descendants continued to enjoy till they forfeited their estates at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1394 John Blanchvyll was one of the "custodes pacis" of the county of Kilkenny, and in 1398 King Richard issued a writ appointing John Blanchville to be sheriff of the county of Kilkenny. In 1405 the same John was again a "custos pacis" for the district; and in 1409 Gilbert Blaunchevyll held a similar commission, which was renewed to him in 1424. In 1447, 1449, and 1450, David Blaunchevill, of Blaunchevillston, was sheriff of Kilkenny, and was each year fined 40d. because he did not pay his proffer of 20d. In 1537 the head of the Blanchville family was denounced by the Presentment of the Commons of the county of Kilkenny as one of the imposers of the obnoxious exaction of coyne and livery on his tenants. This, doubtless, was Edmund Blanchville, Esq., of Blanchvillstown, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century married Margaret, only daughter of John Fitz James Butler, younger brother of Pierce, Earl of Ormonde. Gerald Blanchville, who was member of Parliament for the county of Kilkenny in 1585, and died in his castle of Blanchvillestown on the 6th April, 1594, appears to have been the offspring of this first matrimonial connexion of the family with the house of Ormonde. Gerald married Elinor, third daughter of the first Viscount Mountgarrett, and widow of Thomas Tobin, Esq., of Compsey, and by her left a son, Edmund, aged nine years at his father's death, who, in 1631, was designated Sir Edmund Blanch-

Rot. Mem., 31
to 35 Ed. 1, m.
10, dorso.
Id., 6 Ed. II.,
m. 39, dorso.
Rymer, vol. ii.,
p. 906.

Rot. Mem.,
1 Ric. II., m.
49.

Id., 18 &
19 Ric. II.,
m. 11.
Id., 22 Ric. II.,
m. 3.
Rot. Pat.,
7 Hen. IV., 2a
pars, m. 141.
Id., 11 Hen. IV.,
m. 85.
Rot. Pat.,
8 Hen. VI.,
m. 117.
Rot. Mem.,
26, 28, and 29
Hen. VI.
*MSS. State
Paper Office.*

Archdall's
Lodge, vol. iv.
p. 19.
Liber Mumerum.
*Inquis. Post
Mortem.*, Com.
Kilken. Temp.
Eliz., No. 3.

Id.

Liber Tenur-
rum, Exchequer-
Records, Dublin.

Archdall's
Lodge, vol. iv.
p. 39.

MSS., F. 2. C.
Lib. Trin. Coll.
Dubl.

Commonwealth
Council Book,
Dublin Castle,
vol. 4, p. 282.

Inquis. Post
Mortem, Com.
Kilk., Temp.
Car. II., No. 6.

Irish Exche-
quer Records.

field, Knight, in the records of the State, where he is set down as holding the manor of Blanchfieldston from the King in capite, by knight's service. This Sir Edmund, who erected the monument in the cathedral, espoused Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Walter, the eleventh Earl of Ormonde. Their eldest son, Gerald, or Garret, whom they mourn in the inscription as having been prematurely removed by death, was of sufficient age in 1641 to hold the rank of captain in the army of the Confederate Catholics, and he appears to have taken an active part in the troubles of the period. In the deposition of Peter Pinchon, of Glanmagowe, in the parish of Castlecomer, it is stated that the deponent "tooke a chamber in Kilkenny, thinking it to be a safe place; but about the 18th December (1641), the gates of the saide citty (which were formerly kept shut with watch and ward) was, either by command or neglect of Mr. Archer, the Mair, that day left open for the Rebellis to enter, and the saide citty was rifled and robbed of all protestants' goods by Edward Butler, sonne of the Lord Mountgarrat, Garrat Blanchfield, sonne and heire to Sir Edmond Blanchfield, Phillip Purcell of in the same county, Esq., one Captain Bryan, with divers others. Which was done as this depont. thinketh by the allowance and approbation of the Lord Mountgarrat, he being then in Towne." Joseph Wheeler, of Staincarty, also, in his deposition, mentions "Captain Garrett Blanchfield" as amongst the leaders of the Confederate troops who attacked and slew Lieutenant Gilbert, the Rev. Thomas Bingham, and about sixty others of the English party, near Ballinakill, in the year 1642, and brought their heads to Kilkenny, to be exhibited on the market cross. For his connexion, or that of his son, with the doings of the Confederate Catholics, Sir Edmund Blanchville was decreed by Cromwell's High Court of Justice to have forfeited his property in the county of Kilkenny, and his widow, Dame Elizabeth Blanchville, was ordered to "transplant" to Connaught; but the estates were subsequently restored to his son (who bore the same Christian name of Edmund) by Charles II., at the Restoration, except a portion denominated Church-Claragh, which had been granted away to an adventurer named Randal Ashinghurt. This uncommon act of royal favour may, perhaps, be traced to the relationship of Blanchville to the Duke of Ormonde. However, in the year 1665 we find Edmund Blanchville, of Blanchvillestown, Esq., subjected to a curious State prosecution on the accusation of an informer—one Andrews, who had served

as a private soldier under Axtell the regicide—that he had used an opprobrious epithet towards King Charles II., reflecting on the moral character of that amiable monarch, and observing at the same time, “I can not for him nor for any that took his parte.” The accusation would appear most likely to have been a false and concocted one, seeing that Blanchville himself had joined the King in France and shared the royal fortunes, after Cromwell’s success in Ireland, and was at the Restoration repossessed of his property, whilst the claims of so many, who had deserved an equal measure of justice, were denied or neglected. Nevertheless, at the general assizes held for the county of Kilkenny on the 4th March, 1665, he was convicted of using “scandalous, opprobrious, and seditious words against the King,” and was sentenced to pay a fine of £50. But, having petitioned his relative, the Duke of Ormonde, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his Grace recommended the Commissioners of Reducement to consider the case, and they accordingly mitigated the penalty to £10. Soon after, Blanchville gave ample proof of his loyalty to the house of Stuart, by devoting himself to the cause of King James against William of Orange, the result of which was his attainder, and the total confiscation and irretrievable loss of his patrimony. On the 8th May, 1703, his forfeited property was set up to auction at Chichester House, Dublin, when “the castle, town, and lands of Blanchvillestown,” consisting of 363 acres, were knocked down to Edward Worth, Esq., of Rathfarnham, for £1290; and thirteen other denominations, including the property at Treadingstown and Bennettsbridge, and comprising 2530 acres, were purchased by the Incorporated Company for making hollow Sword-blades, for a sum of £6210; the jointure of Blanchville’s wife, Ursula, being, however, allowed to her for her life, as secured on the lands of Blanchfield’s Park and Bennettsbridge. A junior branch of the Blanchville family were proprietors of the castles and lands of Highrath and Rathgarvan, which were declared by the Commonwealth’s High Court of Justice to be forfeited by Richard Blanchfield, and were confirmed by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation to the Cromwellian soldiery, who had been granted them in satisfaction of their arrears of pay. Rathgarvan came afterwards into the possession of the Clifden family, and now bears the denomination of Clifden. The present tenant in possession, Mr. Patrick Blanchfield, claims to be a descendant of the ancient owners in fee.

*Book of Postings
and Sales of the
Forfeited
Estates, &c.*

*Roll 2^o Anne,
5th part, face,
No. 60.*

*Ib., 7th part,
back, No. 15.*

*Book of Postings
and Sales, &c.*

*Inqvis. Com.
Kilk., Temp.
Car. II., No. 6.*

[63.] PRAY · FOR · IOHN · BRENNAN · CARPINTER · WHO · DYETH · Y^r · 8th · DAY · OF · 8[BER] · 1646 · AND · HIS · WIFE · ANNE · NY · GLANLOW · DEAD · THE · [].

A plain floor-slab. The inscription runs round the edge, in raised Roman capitals.

The Most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

John Brennan was admitted free of the Corporation of Irishtown on the 3rd November, 1605, and paid as an admission fee the sum of 1s. 9d., with 1 lb. of wax. He was town-sergeant of that Corporation, and one of the "sessors of the Priesten-money" in 1633.

[64.]

D. O. M.

SACRVM

ILL^{mo} AC NOB^{mo} DÑVS RICHARDVS BVTLER VICE COMES DE MOVNTGARET.
BARO. DE KELLS. &c.

Ex Antiquissimis primariæ in Hiberniâ Nobilitatis familiis oriundus, vtpote Petri Butler Ormonix et Ossorie comitis, ac Margaretæ fitz Gerald filiæ Comitis de Kildar pronepos, vir Religione in Deum, pietate in Patriam, fidelitate in Regem Pace belloq' conspicuus; de Rege, Regno, Ecclesiâ Dei, pro quibus Fortiter periculosus, et maxime turbatis temporibus stetit, optime meritus; fælisis ac fœcundæ Prolis Parens; sibi, maioribus, ac Posteris hoc Monumentum pie posuit: memoriam sui nunquam morituram reliquit. Obiit ille [] Añõ. 16[].

Defunctus [sic], ac Nobilissimæ Vice Comitum de Mountgaret familiæ bene precare Viator.

TRANSLATION:—Sacred to God, most excellent, most mighty. The most illustrious and most noble lord Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret, Baron of Kells, &c., sprung from the most ancient families of the chief nobility in Ireland, as being the great-grandson of Piers Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, and Margaret Fitzgerald, daughter of the Earl of Kildare. A man conspicuous, both in peace and war, for religion towards God, [and] a pious regard for his country; deserving well of the King, the Realm, and the Church of God, for which he bravely stood in perilous and most troublous times; the parent of a fortunate and prolific issue. For himself, his ancestors, and posterity he piously erected this monument. Of himself he left a memory never to perish. He died [] in the year 16[].

Traveller, of your goodness, pray for the defunct, and for the most noble family of the Viscounts Mountgarret.

A mural monument, in the Renaissance style, but, as will be presently proved, not all of one age. On the base are two shields: the dexter, bearing Mountgarret impaling a saltire between six trefoils slipped, two in fess, two in chief, and two in base, for Andrews; the sinister shield also blazoning Mountgarret impaling an escutcheon bearing on a bend three lions passant gardant, for Branthwaite. The inscription is in small Roman letters, and incised. The base of the monument, the panel on which the inscription is cut, and a small portion of the frieze, are ancient; the remainder of this very incongruous structure is, comparatively speaking, modern, the monument having been "restored" for the then Lord Mountgarret, in 1763, by Mr. William Colles, of Kilkenny. We subjoin the proof, extracted from the letter-book of Mr. Colles, still preserved by his descendant, Mr. Alexander Colles. The letter, dated "Marble Mills, May 9th, 1763," and addressed "To the R^t Hon^{ble} Lord Mountgarrett at Ballycondre," is as follows:—

"MY LORD—Your Lordship's Monument In St. Canice Church being finished and Set up: I have sent you by my fforeman, Mic. Coffee, my Charge for It according to the Estimate given you and approved of by you: The Pediment and arms In y^e Cove of it were estimated at £16 : 0 : 0 but as the arms were Left out £8 : 0 : 0 Is Deducted for them; & the price of a Pedestall w^{ch} was estimated as It was supposed to be Deficient but was ffound behind the Wainscot Is alsoe Deducted so that y^r Lordship is only Charged for what was Done, amounting to £37 : 0 : 6. There is a small Bill of scaffolding &c w^{ch} is always ffound by the Employer w^{ch} I hope y^r Lordship will alsoe pay y^e Bearer."

Should the chancel be ever restored in accordance with the style of the remainder of the building, the removal of this monument would be absolutely necessary; and the proof here afforded, that little of the ancient work remains, would render this proceeding the more desirable.

Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret, was twenty-four years of age at his father Edmund's death in 1602, and had special livery of his estates on the 22nd February, 1605. During his long and chequered life he bore a part in almost every important transaction which took place in Ireland. Whilst yet in his twentieth year he joined O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, his father-in-law, against Queen Elizabeth; but was reconciled to the Crown through the powerful interest of his cousin, Thomas, Earl of Ormonde. After the rebellion of 1641 he

Archdall's
Lodge, vol. iv.,
pp. 48, 51, 52,
53, 54, 65, 66.

A. D. 1599.

A. D. 1642.

See Carte's
Ormonde, pas-
sim, and other
authors.

was joined in a Commission with James Earl of Ormonde to govern the county of Kilkenny, a post which he afterwards filled alone; but subsequently he gave the weight of his position and interest to the cause of the Confederate Catholics. He became General of their Forces, and afterwards President of the Supreme Council,—so that his history from this time is that of Ireland at the period. The violence of civil strife, combined with religious antipathies, led many into actions of bloodshed and cruelty; but Lord Mountgarret was ever conspicuous for his moderation and for the strenuous efforts he made to alleviate the sufferings of the distressed Protestants*. He died A. D. 1651, in the seventy-third year of his age; but the date of his decease has not been inserted in the spaces left by him for that purpose when he erected his monument in the cathedral. He was thrice married,—first, to Margaret, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone; secondly, to Thomasine (who died in 1625, having at Confirmation taken the name of Elizabeth), daughter of Sir William Andrews, of Newport Pagnel, Bucks; and, thirdly, to Margaret, daughter of Richard Branthwaite, Esq., Sergeant-at-Law, and widow of Sir Thomas Spencer, of Yarnton, Oxfordshire, who survived her husband until the year 1655. The arms impaled with his on the shields, already described, are those of his second and third wives. On the

* There remains testimony for and against the merciful character attributed to Lord Mountgarret. Anne, wife of Mervyn Mawdsley, sworn on the 28th March, 1643, deposed:—"That one [] Cantwell, Provost Marshall attorne nere Kilkenny for the rebels, and his company, hanged 7 Englishmen that they fownd in the way from Balline whereof one was a taylor named Richard Phillips, and they hanged alsoe an Irishman because he was in company of those seven Englishmen. All which 8 persons were hanged in the towne of Kilkenny on a howse newly framed of timber. And one of the rebels fell upon his knees to the Lord Mountgarrott to have all the English hanged, who answered he would pistoll him if he made any more such requestes, ffor that such English as were left would gladly enough goe awaye & leave the countrie if they knewe howe: which this depon' thinketh they would, ffor that the rebellious

Irish would still abuse and oppresse those English which they had not slaine nor banished, and would commonly call them English doggs." That Lord Mountgarret made no idle threat when he spoke of "pistolling" those who asked to have the Protestants put to death, appears from the statement of Carte, that,—“seeing one of the rank of a gentleman, Mr. *Richard Cantwell* plundering in his presence, he was so provoked that he shot him dead with his pistol.”—Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. i., p. 267. James Benn, sworn July 3, 1643, also testified that,—“This deponent hath beene credibly tould by some of the Popish and rebellious Citizens there, that the Romish titular Bishop of Cashell, Turlogh Oge O'Neile, brother to the Rebell Sir Phelim O'Neile Knt. & the Popish citizens of Kilkenny aforesaid petitioned or moved earnestly to the rest of the Counsell of Kilkenny that all the English Protestants there should be

monument, when in its original state, it is probable that the arms of his first wife were also sculptured, perhaps, in some more honourable position.

[65.] HIC · IACET · GVLIELMVS · KYVANE · ROBERTI · FILIVS · QVONDAM · CIVITATIS · KILKENLÆ · VIR · DISCRETVS · QUI · SIBI · CHARISSIMÆ · VXORI · SVÆ · ELIZABETHÆ · BRAY · LIBERIS · AC · POSTERIS · HOC · MONVMENTVM · FIERI · FECIT · 1647 · OBIT · GVLIELMVS · [] · DIE · MENSIS · [] · ANNO · DMI · [] · OBIT · ETIAM · VXOR · EIVS · ELIZABETHA · [] · DIE · MENSIS · [] · ANNO · [] .

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth William Kyvane, the son of Robert, formerly of the city of Kilkenny, a discreet man, who for himself, his most dear wife, Elizabeth Bray, his children, and posterity, caused this monument to be erected in the year 1647. William died on the [] day of [], in the year []. Elizabeth also died the [] day of the month of [] in the year [] .

A floor-slab ornamented with a segmental cross, arising from a calvary, and exhibiting in the centre the sacred monogram, and at the base the skull

putt to death, whereunto one Richard Lawlis, an Alderman there, in excuse of them answered and sayd, that the English were all robbed before, and he saw noe cause that they should loose their lives. And at divers other tymes whenever it was pressed that the English should be putt to Death, the Lord Mountgarrett, and his sonn Mr. Edmund Butler, and Mr. Philip Purcell, by ther strengths, meanes, and perswasions prevented it: they being (as this depo^t beleeveth) commanded by God almighty soe to doe." On the contrary side we have the evidence of John Moore, Clerk, Prebend of Aghoure, who being sworn on the 22nd of February, 1641, averred—"that the lo: Mountgaret was in the citie of Kilkenny almost all the whyll of our robinge, and thought he was accompanied with about two hunderth armed men, and able enough according unto his place, of being governour of the countie, [to] have defended us against the strength of all

the rebels, yet he did rather countenance them; many of the rebels wer his servants and tenants, and did openly professe that whatsoever they did, they did it by his Lordship directione: whill as the rebels wer robing any Irish Papist in the citie, he was sure to rescue them, as he did doctor Gifforde, James Archdeacon, Patrick Morphey, and Robert Morphey, ther goods. But whill as all the protestants in the citie wer robbed, some beaten and striped by the rebells, he did not no so much as once frowne upon them. If this and the lyk his lo: practeeses be not sufficient to demonstrat his endes, and of what disposition he is, sur his Lordship is not much better disposed then he was in his yonger yeeres, when with the rebels he was the cheefe actour in the burning of the suburbs of the citie of Kilkenny in the last rebellion."—*Original Depositions of 1641, MS., F. 2. C, Library Trin. Coll., Dublin.*

and cross bones, like No. 60. The inscription runs round the edge and across the top in Roman capitals, and is carved in relief.

The Most Ancient Book of the Corporation of Irishtown.

Original Depositions of 1641, MS. F. 2. C., Trin. Coll. Dubl.

Cotton's Fasti, vol. ii., pp. 311. 313.

Robert Kyvan was admitted free of the Corporation of Irishtown on the 11th October, 1581, paying an admission fee of 3s. 4d. There were at the breaking out of the Rebellion of 1641 no fewer than five clergymen of the diocese of Ossory named Kyvan, or Kevan, who are named in the depositions of that period, viz., Thomas, Patrick, Robert, James, and William, the three latter of whom are stated, in those documents, to have on that occasion gone over to the Church of Rome. A Rev. John Kyvan was prebendary of Aghoure in 1619, and of Mayne in 1637.

[66.]

D. O. M.

R^{ova} D. IACOBVS SHEE, GVLIELMI SENATORIS, ET IN HAC KILKENNIENSI CIVITATE, BENE, PRVDENTER ET FÆLICITER FVNCTI TER PRÆTORIS OFFICIO, FILIVS, DIVINI CVLTVS, ET ANIMARVM ZELO, RELIQUISQ' E QUÆ VERVM DEI SACERDOTEM DECENT, VIRTVTIBVS CONSPICVVS, PREBENDARIVS DE TASCOFFIN, VICARIVS DE CLARAGH, ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS SANCTI CANICI PROVIDVS PROCVRATOR, ET VICARIORVM COMMVNIS AVLÆ INDVSTRIVS PROVIDOR; INTER ALIA PIETATIS OPERA, MONVMENTV̄ HOC SIBI, SUOQVE GERMANO FRATRI R. D. IOANI SHEE, PREBENDARIO DE MAYNE, PAROCHIAE SANCTI IOANNIS EVANGELISTÆ KILKENNIAE VICARIO, FIERI FECIT. OBIT D. IACOBVS DIE 29 MENSIS APRIL' AÑO DÑI. 1648, OBIT ETIAM D. IOANNES DIE [] MENSIS [] AÑO D 16[].

ETERNAM ILLIS REQUIEM, ECCLESIAE DEI PACEM, ET TRANQVILLITATEM PRECARE, VIATOR.

*Vna parens fausta fratres quos protulit aluo,
Vna Sacerdotes Continet vrna Duos.*

TRANSLATION:—To God, most excellent, most mighty. The Reverend Master James Shee (son of William, an alderman of this city of Kilkenny, and who had with credit, prudence and success thrice discharged the office of Mayor), conspicuous on account of his zeal for the worship of God and for [the salvation of] souls, as well as on account of the other virtues which become a true priest of God, prebendary of Tascoffin, vicar of Claragh, the judicious procurator of the cathedral church of St. Canice*, and industrious œconomist

* Built up in the pier of the south-east gate of the churchyard is a stone with the following in-

scription in raised Roman capitals:—R. D. IACOBVS SHEE PROCVRATOR TEMPLI 1647.

of the vicars of the common hall^a; amongst other works of piety caused this monument to be erected for himself and his own brother, the Reverend Master John Shee, prebendary of Mayne, vicar of the parish of St. John the Evangelist, Kilkenny. Master James died on the 29th day of the month of April, A.D. 1648. Master John likewise died on [] day of the month [] A.D. 16[].

Traveller, pray for eternal rest to them, and peace and tranquillity to the Church of God.

A mural tablet in the Renaissance style, but of considerable elegance; which remains in its original position, set in the wall of the north side aisle. Above the panel which bears the inscription is sculptured a shield with the achievement of Shee, viz., with a crescent for difference, 1st, per bend indented, two fleurs de lis; 2nd, three swords fesswise, the middlemost pointing towards the dexter side; 3rd, three swords, two in saltire pointing downwards, and one in pale pointing upwards; 4th, a chevron ermine between three pheons. Crest, a swan rising^b: motto, VINCIT VERITAS. Above all are the sacred monogram and the three nails of the Passion. In the wall the quarterings are repeated singly, the shields being placed two on each side of the monument, on lozenge-shaped slabs. The inscription is incised. On a stone in the floor of the north side aisle are the words, OSTIVM MONVMENTI D. IACOBI SHEE SACERDOTIS.

The O'Shees or O'Sheths—Hibernicè, Ua Seḡḡa—were a Milesian family, of whom the head seems to have been chief of Ui-Rathach in Iveragh, county of Kerry. Sir J. Bernard Burke deduces the Kilkenny branch from “an Odanus O'Shee,” but does not state the time at which that personage flourished; however, he says, his “descendant, Robert Shee, settled in Kilkenny, and, falling at the battle of Mealiffe, 6th August, 1500, was succeeded by his only son, Richard Shee, Esq.,” whose son Robert was a justice of peace for the county of Kilkenny, and purchased property there. This last Robert was father of Sir

Four Masters,
vol. ii., p. 950.

*Burke's Peerage
and Baronetage,*
Ed. 1843,
pp. 908-9.

^a In the wall of a yard near the foot of St. Canice's Steps is a stone with the following inscription, in raised Roman capitals:—R . D . IACOBVS . SHEE . VICARIOVVM . COMMVNIS . AVLE . PROVISOV . ANNO . DÑI . 1647.

^b “Shee, of Com. Kilkenny, Bears 8 coats quarterly. 1st & 5th per Bend indented or & az. 2 Flordelis's counterchanged. 2^d is gules 3 swords Fessways the middlemost pointing towards y^e

Dexter side all proper. 3^d sab. 3 pheons arg^t. 4th gules 3 swords, 2 in salt^r pointing downwards, & one in pale pointed upwards, all proper. 6th Arg^t 3 Bars gules over all a Bend sable. 7th per Pale indented or & gules. The 8th and last, Arg^t a chevⁿ betwⁿ 3 Pheons sable. By Rob^t Cook Clarencieux K. at Arms. 7th August, 1582, 24th Elizabeth.”—*Heraldic MS.* penes auct.

Richard Shee, of Bonnestown, Uppercourt, and Sheestown, an eminent lawyer, professionally engaged in the service of the Ormonde family; and who, probably, received his knighthood through the influence of that house with the Lord Deputy of Ireland. The Ulster King at Arms cannot, however, be quite correct as to the O'Shee pedigree, as there was a member of the family settled in Kilkenny earlier than the Robert slain in 1500, Thomas Sheth having been one of the portreves of the town in 1396, and having filled the same office again in 1422, on which latter occasion his name is spelled Shee in the municipal records. The father of the two ecclesiastics for whom the monument was erected in the cathedral died on the 18th April, 1584, and was interred, with his wife, Margaret Walsh, in the churchyard of St. Mary's parish, where their monument still remains. Both these clergymen appear to have taken an active part in the proceedings of the Confederate Catholics of Kilkenny, the prebendary of Mayne in particular, whose name is subscribed with those of Bishop Roth, and the other Roman Catholic divines then in the city, to the answers to the queries of the Supreme Council in 1648, whereby the former declared themselves in favour of the cessation of hostilities. Robert Shee, grandson and heir of Sir Richard, and a relative of these two clergymen, was one of the prime movers of the out-break, and it was in his house in Coal-market that the first meeting of the Confederate Council was held. The monument appears, by the date thereon, to have been erected whilst the cathedral was in the possession of the Roman Catholic party.

Connell's Book,
Ormonde MSS.
Kilkenny Castle.

*Queres concern-
ing the Lawful-
ness of the pre-
sent Cessation,*
Kilkenny, 1648,
p. 52.

*Memoirs of
Clanrickarde,*
folio, 1757,
p. 297.

[67.]

D. O. M.

PATRICIVS MVRPHIE CIVIS, SENATOR, & QVONDAM PRÆTOR KILKENIENSIS,
VIR PRVDENS, PROBVS, PIVS, PAVPERVVM & PVPILLORVVM MERITO PARENS, MORTA-
LITATIS DVM VIVERET MEMOR, SIBI, CHARISSIMÆ VXORI SVÆ, ANASTASÆ
PHELAN, MATRONÆ LECTISSIMÆ, OPTIMÆ, NVMEROSÆ NECNON ERVDITÆ PROLIS
MATRI, FILIO AC HÆREDI SVO RICHARDO MVRPHIE OMNIBVS MVLTVM CHARO,
VICE-COMITIS MVNERE KILKENIÆ SVMMA COM LAVDE FVNCTO, ÆTATIS
FLORE PRÆREPTO, EIVS VXORI ELISÆ ROTHE, LIBERIS, AC POSTERIS MONV-
MENTVM HOC POSVIT. OBIIT PATRICIVS 3^o DIE MENSIS MARTIJ, 1648. ANAS-
TASIA 6^{mo} DIE FEBRVARIJ 1646. RICHARDVS 8^{vo} DIE IVNII, 1643. ELISA
[] DIE MENSIS []

Exaltans humiles Deus hic extolle sepultos
 Qui fuerant humiles semper amore tui
 Qui Requiem, uitam, solamen, Dona, salutem
 Pauperibus Dederant his miserere deus. amen.

Epitaphium.

*Junxit amor viuos, vno mors jungit amantes
 Marmore, non moritur qui bene vixit, amor.
 Christi verus amor post mortem vivit, et addit
 Æternæ vitæ gaudia connubio.*

John Murphy the Son of the above mentioned Rich^d died 16 Nov^r, A. D. 1690. Mary Tobin the Wife of Iohn 17 January 169^q. Barnaby Murphy the son of Iohn 28 January 1741. Mary Shee his wife died 3 November 1737. Thomas the son of Barnaby (who in compliance with his own wishes is interred outside this wall but in the family burial ground) departed this life 18th Sep^r 1776 in the 68 Year of his age. Also his wife Mary Meagher who died 30 day of Sep^r 1787 in the 58 Year of her age. Barnaby Murphy the eldest son of Tho^s & Mary Murphy died in London the 4th of June A. D. 1802 in the 61 Year of his age. His body lies deposited in a Tomb in the Church yard of S^t Pancras.

TRANSLATION:—Master Patrick Murphy, citizen, alderman, and sometime mayor of Kilkenny, a man prudent, honest, and pious, truly the parent of the poor and of the orphan whilst he lived, remembering mortality, erected this monument for himself, for his most dear wife Anastasia Phelan, a most rare and excellent matron, the mother of a numerous and learned issue; for his son and heir Richard Murphy, universally beloved, who most laudably discharged the office of sheriff, but was snatched away in the flower of his age; for his wife Eliza Rothe; [and] for his children and posterity. Patrick died the 3rd day of the month of March, 1648; Anastasia, the 6th day of February, 1648; Richard, the 8th of June, 1643; Eliza, the [] day of the month of []

An elaborate Renaissance mural monument, occupying its original position against the wall of the north side aisle. It has been repaired, and several portions were supplied anew, when the slab containing the latest inscriptions was inserted, subsequently to the year 1802. The inscriptions are incised, and were recut when the monument was repaired, as appears by the alteration of the year of Richard Murphy's death from 1643 (the true date) to 1640. The pillars which support the frieze rise from an altar-shaped base, the top-stone of which is formed by the monument of Nicholas Motyng (No. 29),

which seems to have been incorporated with the monument when it was first erected. On the upper part of the structure is carved a shield bearing per pale; dexter side, quarterly, 1st and 4th, gules a lion rampant or, 2nd and 3rd argent a lion rampant gules, over all a fess sable charged with three garbes or—for Murphy; sinister side, or a cross engrailed gules between four martlets sable—for Phelan. Crest, a lion rampant, his paw on a garb, all or; Motto, FORTIS ET HOSPITALIS. The arms are repeated separately below, and all retain indications of colour. On the slab in the floor near the monument are the words,—OSTIVM · MONVMENTI · PATRITY · MVRPHYE · ET · VXORIS · EIVS · ANASTATLE · PHELAN · AÑO · DÑI · 1647.

Original Depositions of 1641, MS., F. 2. C., Trin. Coll., Dubl.

The first record which we have of any member of this Leinster Milesian sept, in connexion with the municipality of Kilkenny, is the nomination of John Murphy to the office of coroner by the great Charter of James I. in 1609, followed, four years subsequently, by a royal license to William Murphy and his daughter, Rose, to open a tavern in that city. Patrick Murphy of the inscription was mayor of Kilkenny at the eventful period of 1642–3; but although the “Depositions” of that time accuse his son-in-law, Edmond Roe Purcall, of plundering the Protestant inhabitants, and his son, Richard Murphy, who was sheriff in 1641, with complicity in the rebellion, and with having boasted that it was he who opened the town-gates for the admission of the rebels, we are led by their tenor to suppose that he did not put himself forward as a prominent actor in those troubles. He is mentioned amongst a few of the Roman Catholic inhabitants whose goods were plundered by the rebels, but who had restitution made to them by order of Lord Mountgarret, whilst that grace was denied to similar sufferers professing the Reformed faith; and he would also appear to have at that time received and entertained in his house a Protestant clergyman, John Keavan, one of the prebendaries of the cathedral. Robert and Edmond Murphy were on the list of citizens of Kilkenny attainted for their connexion with the cause of King James II., at the end of the same century.

[68.] HIC IACET CORPVS THOMÆ HILL HVIVS ECCLESLE DECANI ET S. S. THEOL. APVD CANTABRIGIENSES DOCTORIS OBIIT PRIMO DIE NOVEMBRIS MDCLXXIII.

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth the body of Thomas Hill, dean of this Church, and doctor in Sacred Theology of Cambridge. He died on the 1st day of November, MDCLXXIII.

A floor-slab ; the inscription, in raised Roman capitals, runs across the top.

It appears by the records of the University that Thomas Hill became B. A. of Cambridge in 1655, A. M. in 1659, and D. D. in 1670. He was appointed a prebendary of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, in 1667, and receiving his patent for the deanery of St. Canice, March 11, 1670-1, was admitted on the 18th of the same month. His will, bearing date at Kilkenny, March 3, 1672, is extant. It is a holograph document, and, beginning in the usual form, it thus proceeds:—

Cotton's Fasti,
vol. ii., p. 157.
Id., p. 295.

Prerogative
Office, Dublin.

“ In primis I [ordain] my soul unto the hands of God who gave it me, beseeching him to have mercy on it at the hour of death and in the day of judgment. My body I bequeath to the grave, to be buried in Kilkenny cathedral, without sermon, mourning, or any other ceremony but y^e prayers of y^e Church (together with evening prayers) appointed for that office. Item, I make my well-beloved wife, Jane Hill, my sole executrix, and do freely give her all y^t any where belongs to me, or as I am my father's executor, beseeching her to be kind unto my poore deare children, Thomas, James, Richard, and that which she travels with, and for their sake, and for her own, not to be too passionate for my death. Let her breed them up in the fear of God and they will prosper; and God bless my children, my wife, and have mercy on my soul.”

He died the year after that in which he made this will, having, on the 22nd of June previous, been made free of the city of Kilkenny.

*White Book of
the Corporation
of Kilkenny.*

[69.] IN P. M. JOH. BVSHOP QUOND. REGISTRARIJ HVIVS DICECES. AVI SVI & EDWARDI BUSHOP PRÆBEND. DE KILLAMERRY IN HÂC ECCLE. CATHED. PATRIS SVI SIBI SVISQVE POSTERIS HOC POSVIT WALTER BVSHOP 12 JVNII 1677.

TRANSLATION:—To the pious memory of his grandfather, John Bushop, sometime registrar of this diocese, and of his father, Edward Bushop, prebendary of Killamory, in this cathedral church, for himself and his descendants, Walter Bushop placed this [monument] on the 12th of June, 1677.

There is at present no trace to be seen of this monument, originally set in the floor of the Lady Chapel, it being completely hidden by the Bishop's Court. We give the inscription as we find it in O'Phelan's Manuscript Catalogue of the Tombs ; but cannot vouch for its accuracy.

John and Edward Bushop were sufferers by the troubles of 1641, and made depositions as to their losses. John had taken land from Walter Walsh, of

Original Depositions of 1641, MS., F. 2. C., Trin. Coll., Dublin.

Id.

Castlehoel, at Glandonell ; but on the breaking out of the rebellion fled from the district, losing in “profits of his farme and tythes worth xxx^{li} p annum, until a peace be established.” Edward Bushop was at the time incumbent of the parish of Rathbeagh, and was forcibly expelled from his parsonage-house by the rebels, and plundered of his property, amounting, as he swore, to the value of £418, “being all y^e relief he had for himself, his wiff, and of his owne, & his grandchildren.” Walter Bushop is on the roll of freemen of the Corporation of Irishtown for the year 1661.

[70.] HERE LYETH INTERRED THE BODY OF MRS FRANCES FOVLKES ALS WHITE DAUGHTER TO GRYFFITH WHITE OF HENLLAN IN PEMBROCKE-SHIRE ESQVIRE WHO BEING TWICE MARRIED FIRST TO MAIOR FRANCIS BOLTON AFTERWARDS TO BARTHOLOMEW FOVLKS ESQVIRE DYED THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF NOVEMBER 1685 IN THE YEARE OF HER AGE 52.

An elaborate Renaissance mural monument, supported on a base of altar shape. Above the inscription is an escutcheon charged with the following arms, viz., a fleur-de-lis, with crescent for difference, impaling three stags' heads caboshed. The crest is lost. There is a floor-slab in St. Mary's Chapel, at present covered by the Bishop's Court, with the words:—HERE IS THE OPENING OF THE VALTE OF M^{RS} FRANCES FOVLKES 1687.

Roll, 19 Car. II. 2nd part, back, No. 24.

The persons commemorated in the inscription on this monument appear to have been Cromwellian settlers in the district. Amongst the grants under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation is one confirming to “Bartholomew Fowke and Frances, his wife, relict of Major Francis Bolton,” the possession of the castle of Dromard and various lands in the baronies of Ikerrin and Killnemanagh, county of Tipperary, reserving to Pierce, Viscount Ikerrin, such rights as might be adjudged to him in a portion of the property, after reprisals. Bartholomew Foulks was appointed Master Extraordinary in Chancery for the province of Munster by patent, dated 25th January, 1665. Amongst the Chapter records is the following entry, under date 19th May, 1687:—

Chapter Book, A, p. 92.

“Ordered that the Executors of M^{rs} Frances Foulkes, on payment of £10 fine, shall have a grant, at 20s. p an. rent, of the ground in St Mary's chappel, in the Cathedral, where the said M^{rs} Foulkes' monument is now built.”

The monument was removed from St. Mary's chapel into the south transept

about thirty years ago, when the Bishop's Court was erecting in the former, and its position has since been twice changed, first to the north side aisle, and finally again to the south transept.

[71.] **HERE LYETH THE BODY OF RICHARD LONGE WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 18 OF APRIL ANNO DOMINI 1690.**

This is a plain floor-slab, with inscription in Roman characters. The names of Lang and Long, which appear to be identical, frequently appear on the burgess rolls and lists of municipal officers of Kilkenny from an early period.

[72.] *Hic Jacet Thomas Ottway Ossoriensis Episcopus qui Obiit Sexto die Martij 1693 Aetatis suae 77.*

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Thomas Ottway, Bishop of Ossory, who died the 6th day of March, 1692–3, in the 77th year of his age.

A plain floor-slab, covered with the inscription, which is cut in large italic characters, curiously flourished.

For a memoir of Bishop Otway the reader is referred to the proposed "History of the See of Ossory."

[73.] **Hic Jacet Richard^o Clonā quōd' burgēs' ville kilkente qⁱ obiit [] et Elena Rothe uxor ei⁹ q̄ obiit []**

TRANSLATION:—Here lieth Richard Clonan, formerly a burgess of the town of Kilkenny, who died [], and Elena Rothe, his wife, who died [].



No. 56.

A floor-slab, here accurately engraved to the scale of half an inch to a foot. At either side of the cross are the emblems of the trade of the deceased,

consisting of cutting and paring knives, awl, and slicker, together with the upper leather, and sole of an Irish brogue. There is an erroneous opinion prevalent that this is the monument of the murderer of Bishop Walshe; but we possess indubitable proof that no such stain attaches to the memory of Richard Clonan, who, no doubt, was a respectable tradesman in his day.

[74.] Here · lies · John · Sprice · burgis · qⁱ · obit [] · die · [] · and ·
his · Wife · Joane · Kenede · q^e · obit · [] · die · [] .

*The most An-
cient Book of the
Corporation of
Irishtown.*

This curious mixture of English and Latin is cut in Old English characters on a more ancient coffin-shaped monument, which had been ornamented with an Edwardian cross in relief; it is broken into two fragments, which are separated from each other. John Sprice (the name is always spelled with an *s* in the municipal records) was five times a collector of the "Priesten-money" of St. Canice's parish, between the years 1604 and 1615; and in the year 1623 he appears on the roll of burgesses of Irishtown.

[75.] [E]dmundus Butler qu[i obit] die mēs' Julii A^o dⁱ
M^o nīe et^o. uxor q^e obit x

TRANSLATION:— Edmund Butler who [died] the day of the
month of July, A. D. M his wife, who died

A fragment of a floor-slab inscribed in Old English characters. Edmond Butler was one of the collectors of the "Priesten-money" of the parish in the year 1633.

[76.] Hic Jacet Anton^o o Boue Et Mari[a] Gale.

TRANSLATION:—Here lies Anthony O'Boue and Maria Gale.

A plain floor-slab. The inscription is in Old English characters.

[77.] HERE LYETH WILLIAM O · DOWLY.

A small, plain floor-slab. The inscription is cut in raised Roman characters. William Dowly—the "O" is not prefixed to his name in the Corporation records

id.

—was one of the sessors of the “Priesten-money” of the parish in 1608, and several subsequent years. In 1630 he was elected one of the constables of Irishtown, and the record of his appointment specifies that his trade was that of a cottoner.

TOMBS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—There are only fifteen monuments of this period, of which five are mural tombs,—all tablets, except those of Archbishop Cox and Dean Pack, which are of more elaborate design: nine are plain floor-slabs: and one—that of the Taylor family—is a rude and tasteless altar tomb, such as may be seen ordinarily crowding country churchyards. All the inscriptions belonging to this century are incised.

[78.] HERE . LYETH . THE . BODY . OF . CHARLES . SANDFORD . OF . SANDFORD . COURT . ESQ^R . WHO . DEPARTED . THI^S . LIFE . THE . 4TH . OF . DECEMBER . A . D . 1701 .

A simple, unadorned floor-slab. The Sandfords were an ancient Shropshire family. Thomas de Sandford fought at Hastings on the side of the Conqueror, and his name is on the roll of Battle Abbey. In 1426 the Sandford estate at Lie, near Whitechurch, in the county of Salop, was granted to Nicholas Sandford, of Calverhall, who was the fourteenth in descent from the founder of the family in England. Captain John Sandford was settled in Ireland in the reign of James I., and in the year 1613 received a grant for ever of all mountain lands, bogs, and woods in Ulster, escheated to the crown, at a yearly rent of £10, in consideration of his absence during the distribution of the escheated lands in Ulster, in consequence of which no portion was assigned to him, he being then engaged in conducting the loose kern and swordsmen of that province to the service of the King of Sweden, and disburdening the country by that means of many turbulent and disaffected persons who would otherwise have troubled the peace. The gentleman interred in the Cathedral of St. Canice appears to have been the first of the family who was connected with the county of Kilkenny. The property of Sandford's-court was known for centuries by the name of Cantwell's-court, and was forfeited by Thomas Cantwell, Esq., Provost-Marshal under the Confederate Catholics. Under the Acts

Rot. Pat., 5-11,
Jac. I., facie LV.
81.

Roll 18
Car. II.,
eighth part,
back, No. 43.

Burke's Peerage
and Baronetage,
edit. 1843,
p. 595.

of Settlement and Explanation it was granted to Arthur, Lord Viscount Ranelagh, in 1666, from whom Sandford would appear to have purchased it, and changed the name. His successor in the property was Thomas Sandford, Esq., of Sandford's-court, who married Alicia, second daughter of Harry, second Lord Blaney, and she, having outlived him, remarried with John Langrishe, Esq., of Knocktopher, the grandfather of Sir Hercules Langrishe, created a baronet in 1777. The Sandfords became extinct in Kilkenny towards the end of the century, when the property of Sandford's-court passed to the Warren family, but it was recently sold in the Incumbered Estates Court, and a portion of it has been purchased by John M'Namara Cantwell, Esq., solicitor,—thus replacing the name of the ancient owners amongst the proprietors of the county of Kilkenny.

[79.]

H. S. E.

Standisius Hartstonge Arm^r Filius natus 111^{us}. Standisii Hartstonge Bar^{ti}. Et Scaccarii Regii Baronis in Agro Norfolciensi oriundus. Qui in hac Civitate Recordatoris Et in Palatinatu Tipperariensi Custodis Rotulorum muneribus Diu et præclare functus, Obiit Pr: Cal: Junii anno MDCCIV. Charissimo Fratri P. Johanes Episcopus Ossoriensis Felicem & Ipse Resurrectionem sub hoc olim marmore expectaturus.

TRANSLATION:—Here is buried Standish Hartstonge, Esq., third son of Sir Standish Hartstonge, Bart., a native of the county of Norfolk, who, having long and honourably discharged the office of Recorder of this city, and of Custos Rotulorum in the palatinate of Tipperary, died on the 31st of May, in the year MDCCIV. Erected to his dearest brother by John, Bishop of Ossory, himself intending to await a happy resurrection under this marble.

A plain floor-slab, the inscription cut in Italic characters.

Standish Hartstonge the elder, Baron of the Exchequer, was previously Recorder of Limerick, and his wife having died on the 5th of July, 1663, he erected a monument to her memory in St. Mary's church in that city. Dineley, in his "Tour in Ireland," a manuscript in the possession of Sir T. E. Winington, Bart., which is in course of publication by the Kilkenny Archæological Society, gives a pen-and-ink sketch of the monument, which was a mural tablet, bearing a device representing a heart surmounted by a cloven tongue, in allusion to the

name. This lady, as appears by the inscription, was "Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Jermy, of Gunton, in the county of Norfolk, Esq^r, by Alice his wife, y^o daughter of Sir Anthony Irby, of Boston, K^{nt}." The inscription further stated her to be the mother of eleven children, of whom seven were living in 1677. Of these, two became connected with Kilkenny—John, although born in England, first by partially receiving his education at the celebrated grammar school known as "The Colledge," founded by the Duke of Ormonde; and subsequently by having been, in 1693, promoted by King William III to the bishopric of Ossory, after serving for many years, and through four campaigns in Flanders, as chaplain to the Duke of Ormonde;—Standish by being appointed in 1694 Recorder of the city, through the influence of his brother with the Corporation. It was alleged, in certain subsequent law proceedings, by that Corporation, that the Bishop had covenanted with them to induce the burghesses of Irishtown to surrender their claim to privileges disputed by the Corporation of the city, as a consideration for this appointment, which engagement, however, he never fulfilled. Be this averment as it may, it is certain the Bishop, instead of inducing the Irishtown Corporation to forego their claims, strenuously aided and encouraged them in sustaining them, whilst his brother Standish, as Recorder, was as actively engaged during the remainder of his life in prosecuting the opposing interests of the city of Kilkenny in the courts of law, and died without having brought the suit to an issue. Standish was elected member of Parliament for the City of Kilkenny in 1695 and 1703, and made his will on the 9th of January, 1704, in which he describes himself as "of the city of Dublin," and directs that his body "shall be decently buried, but without pomp, in the parish church of St. Audeans" there. He bequeathed all his real estate, called Talbot's Inch^a, in the parish of St. Canice, Kilkenny, to his brother, the Bishop of Ossory; and to his nephew, Standish Brownlow, all his "study of books," "provided he takes on him the profession of the law;" but if he does not, he bequeathed them to his brother, the Bishop. To the poor of Kilkenny he left 40s. "Item whereas the Corporation of the City of Kilkenny are indebted unto me in the sum of £20 sterling, I do hereby give,

Harris's Ware,
vol. i, p. 481.

*Monuments in
Town Clerk's
Office, Kil-
kenny.*

Liber Munerum.

*Prerogative
Office, Dublin.*

^a Talbot's Inch appears to have been, in the first instance, purchased in trust for Standish Hartstonge by his brother, to whom we find it here ultimately bequeathed.—See p. 258, *supra*.

*Second Book of
the Corporation
of Irishtown.*

Id.

devise, and bequeath the said sum for erecting and setting up a clock in the Tollsell of the said citty." And whereas his "nephew, Sir Standish Hartstonge, did, in his grandfather's life, behave himselfe disobediently and undutifully towards him," and that he "had also carried himself disrespectively" to the testator, therefore he "thought fitt not to leave him anything." This Sir Standish appears to have borne himself more "respectively" towards his uncle the Bishop, as it was doubtless by the influence of that prelate that he was returned Member of Parliament for the borough of Irishtown, in 1713 and 1715. He had previously been elected portreve of Irishtown in 1711, also on the Bishop's nomination, as was his son, Pryce Hartstonge, in 1713. The Register of Kilkenny College shows "Pryce, son of Sir Standish Hartstonge, Bart.," to have been admitted to that institution at the age of fourteen years, in 1703, and "Martin Hartstonge, gent., aged 12 years, entered the second class, October 18, 1705."

[80.] *Here Lyeth the Body of Mr Richard Duigin Who departed this life April 4th 1708.*

A plain floor-slab, the inscription in italic characters.

*Most Ancient
Book of the Cor-
poration of
Irishtown.*

*Roll of Accounts
of Fines col-
lected in Causes
Ecclesiastical,
between 34 and
38 Elizabeth.*

*State Paper
Office, London.*

*Rental issued
from Incum-
bered Estates
Court, Dublin.*

The name, often written Dwigine and Duigan, frequently occurs amongst the muniments of the borough of Irishtown in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1576 Thomas Dwigine was town-sergeant of Irishtown. Between the years 1591 and 1595 Dionicious Dwiggin was, with other citizens of Kilkenny, fined 20s. for absenting himself from divine service in the parish church, according to the Reformed ritual. In 1604 Sir Teig Duigan was on a list of "the names of the popish priests, seminaries, and Jesuits in the diocese of Ossory" returned by the Bishop to the Lord Deputy of Ireland. On the 15th of April, 1698, the Duke of Ormonde made a lease of lives renewable for ever of the lands of Palmerstown, at a rent of £31 4s., with a fat beef and two fat wethers, as accates, or £2 sterling per annum in lieu thereof, at his Grace's election, to "Richard Duigin of the city of Kilkenny, Gentleman"—the person for whom the monument was placed in the cathedral. This family anciently possessed property in the Queen's County. In the churchyard of Skeirke, near Borris-in-Ossory, is a stone, originally portion of a chimney-piece in the now demolished castle of Skeirke, with the following, apparently imperfect,

inscription, in raised Roman capitals:—✠ IESVS · MARIA ✠ ✠ IOHN · O · DVIGIN
✠ IVLII · 12 ✠ ELLEN · PVRCELL ✠. The name is still found in Kilkenny,—Sur-
geon Duigan of the Royal Navy, who served in the Baltic, and afterwards in the
Crimea with the Naval Brigade, during the late Russian war, being a native
of that county.

[81.]

O. S.

REVERENDVS STEPHANVS VAUGHAN HVJVS ECCLESIE THESAVRARIVS IN
AGRO A[R]VONENSI NATVS, OXONLÆ EDVCATVS, HANC VITAM TRANSITORIAM
KILKENLÆ FINIVIT 22° APRILIS MDCXXI. AC GLORIOSAM EXPECTANS RESVRREC-
TIONEM SVBTVS JACET TVMVLATVS. ALICIA VAUGHAN AL^a LLOYD VXOR EJVS
CHARISSIMA POSVIT.

TRANSLATION:—To the Omnipotent Saviour. The Reverend Stephen Vaughan, trea-
surer of this church, born in the county of Carnarvon, educated at Oxford, ended this tran-
sitory life at Kilkenny on the 22nd of April, 1711, and lieth buried beneath, expecting a
glorious resurrection. Alice Vaughan alias Lloyd, his most dear wife, placed this monument.

This tomb, like that of the Bushops (No. 69, *supra*), is situated in the
Lady Chapel, and entirely covered over by the wood-work of the present
Bishop's Court. We can only give the inscription as we find it in O'Phelan's
manuscript.

The Rev. Stephen Vaughan, a native of Wales, received priest's orders Cotton's Fasti.
in the year 1670, was admitted to the prebend of Blackrath, in the cath-
edral of St. Canice, on the 6th May, 1671, and installed two days subse-
quently. On the 1st of March, 1675–6, he was admitted into the college of the
vicars choral of the cathedral as Dean's Vicar; and, on the 29th of March, 1687,
being collated to the prebend of Tascoffin, ceased to be prebendary of Blackrath.
In 1689 he was one of those attainted by the Irish Parliament of King James II.,
on the plea of absence from the country; but the success of William of Orange
restored to him his benefice, and on the 27th of July, 1691, he was collated
to the Treasurership of the cathedral. He married Alice, second daughter of Archdall's
Lodge's Peerage,
vol. v., p. 19.
Robert Lloyd, Esq., of Placenewyd, Denbighshire, by Grissild, fourth daughter
of Roland Bulkeley, Esq., who was resident at Porthamell, in Wales, in the year

*Registrar's
Office, Diocese
of Ossory.*

1600. The will of the Rev. Stephen Vaughan bears date 3rd February, 1708-9, and probate issued 5th July, 1711. He bequeathed 20*s.* to the poor of each of the parishes of Skeirke, Ennismagg, and St. Canice, to be disbursed by the Bishop of Ossory within six months from his decease. His property in Wales, consisting of a house and garden in Carnarvonshire, he left to his sister Catherine and her husband, together with the furniture there, "excepting for one large brass pott, which I order to be delivered to my executrix when called for." His house in Kilkenny, held from the Duke of Ormonde, he bequeathed in reversion to his niece, Dorothy Connell, after the death of his wife, to whom he left the rest of his property, excepting a few trifling money legacies, naming her his sole executrix, but to be advised and assisted by his brother-in-law, Richard Connell, and his cousin, Thomas Bulkeley.

[82.] HERE LYETH THE BODY OF CAP^t ROBERT BARTON LATE OF THE HON^{ble} COLL^o HENRY HARRISONS REGIM^t WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE FIFTH DAY OF NOVEM^{ber} 1723 IN THE 63^d YEARE OF HIS AGE.

A plain floor-slab, with inscription in Roman capitals.

*Prerogative
Office, Dublin.*

Robert Barton appears to have been a Cromwellian settler in Kilkenny. We know nothing of his history except what the above inscription discloses, and a similar statement of his military rank made in his will, which document bears date 3rd November, 1723, two days before his death. It opens thus:—"In the name of God, Amen. I Robert Barton, of the Irishtown near the City of Kilkenny, Esq^r, late Captⁿ in the Hon. Col. Henry Harrisons Regiment of Foot, being weak in body," &c. He directs his body to be buried "at the discretion of my executrix," naming to that office, and as his sole legatee, "my dearly beloved wife, Catherine Barton, alias Van Aulst."

[83.]

H. M.

Subtus adjacet Quod Venerabilium Hujus Ecclesiæ Decani et Capituli Beneficio Reliquijs Sui Suorumq' inhumandis Conditiorum H. Nicolaus Cormicke Kilkenniensis, A. D. MDCCXXIII. Beatam illis Resurrectionem, Lector apprecare.

TRANSLATION:—Beneath, close at hand, lies the depository, intended for the burial of the remains of himself and his family, which Nicholas Cormicke, of Kilkenny, hath been

allotted by the favour of the venerable the Dean and Chapter of this cathedral, A.D. 1723. Reader, pray for their happy resurrection.

A mural tablet, with armorial insignia still retaining traces of colour. The field is divided per pale:—Dexter side, argent on a bend sable three escalops of the first, impaling gules a lion rampant argent. Sinister side:—Gules, three covered cups or. Crest:—A dexter arm, embowed, vambraced, the hand holding an axe. Motto:—LABOUR OMNIA VINCIT. On a slab in the floor beneath is cut the words, THE OPENING OF MR. NICHOLAS CORMICK'S VAULT. With respect to the Cormick vault the following entry appears on the Chapter Book of St. Canice:—

*Chapter Book,
A, p. 287.*

“Whereas, the 11th of August 1726 there was a grant to Mr. Nicholas Cormicke for him & his posterity for ever to be bury'd in his burying place in the Cathedrall without paying the accustomed fees, in consideration of s^d Cormicke's paying five pounds towards the repairs of the Cathedral; and whereas the s^d five pounds have not been paid, & that s^d Cormicke & his family refuse to pay the serv^{ts} of the Cathedrall their fees, & and this body being advised that they cannott grant away the Right of their successors, we do hereby reserve, revoke, and annull afores^d grant.”

The Cormicks, or Cormacks, were a respectable trading family settled in Kilkenny during the eighteenth and first half of the present century. Several members of the family appear on the Register of Kilkenny College as having received their education in that institution.

[84.] Sub hoc marmore clauditur ANNÆ COX Quod Mortale fuit, JACOBI O'BRIEN, filii Comitis nuperi de INCHEQUIN, filiæ: QUÆ MICHAELI COX, Episcopo Ossoriensi, Anno 1745, Matrimonio juncta eodem anno, ætatis suæ 23, Fatali Puerperio abrepta est, Pius enixa Filium. Quantæ jacturæ quantillum Solamen! Illa nempe Tam Corporis quam animi dotibus a Naturâ ditata, Dignâque iisdem disciplinâ Liberaliter instituta, non minus sanctè quam eleganter vitam exegit. Ingens sui desiderium Parentibus, cognatis, amicis; Infandum Conjugi mærorem, Singulisque Singularum virtutum Exemplar opimum reliquit. Contemplare, Lector, Humanæ Felicitatis caducam Sortem, Et adversus inopinos et miserimos casus (Nullibi præclarius monendus) Animum ben munitum et erectum para.

Juxta reliquias Uxoris suæ dilectæ Sub eodem marmore jacet Reverendissimus MICHAEL COX, Archiepiscopus Casseliensis, RICARDI COX, Equitis Baronetti, Summi olim in hoc

Regno Cancellarii Filius. Qui diversa vitæ officia, quoad Privatus, Liberali morum elegantia excoluit et ornavit: Quoad Episcopus, cuncta sacri sui ordinis munia Per **xxxv** annos, cum dignitate et non sine laude obivit. Tandem obrepente senectute, Paulatim a publicis negotiis recessit; Et inter amœna sui ruris, et domesticas caritates, postremos vitæ bene actæ annos, Usque ad nonagesimum, Iucunde et leniter peregit, Felix ante obitum in amplectendâ dulci et numerosâ charissimi nati progenie. Natus Nov: II. **MDCLXXXIX**. De-natus Maij **xxviii**. **MDCLXXXIX**.

TRANSLATION:—Beneath this marble is entombed all that was mortal of Anna Cox, daughter of James O'Brien, son of the late Earl of Inchequin; who, united in marriage to Michael Cox, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1745, was, the same year, snatched away by death in childbirth, having first given birth to a son. How great the loss! how small the consolation! She, truly, enriched by nature with gifts of mind and body, liberally educated in a manner worthy of these endowments, lived a life of piety graced by elegance. Her death has left to her parents, relations, and friends a grievous void, to her husband unspeakable grief, and to all a perfect exemplar of each of the virtues. Behold, Reader, the instability of human happiness, and against unlooked-for misfortunes (of which you have nowhere a clearer warning) prepare a mind well fortified and erect.

Under the same marble, and beside the remains of his beloved wife, lies the Most Reverend Michael Cox, Archbishop of Cashel, son of Sir Richard Cox, Bart., sometime Lord Chancellor of this kingdom; who, as a private person, fulfilled and adorned the various relations of life with polite elegance of demeanour, and, as a Bishop, for thirty-five years discharged all the duties of his sacred order with dignity, and not without praise. At length, as old age crept on, he gradually withdrew from public affairs, and amidst the pleasures of his country seat, and the endearments of home, passed, in happiness and repose, the last years, even to the ninetieth, of a well-spent life; blessed in having embraced, ere he died, the lovely and numerous offspring of his most dear son. Born November the 2nd, **MDCLXXXIX**. Deceased May the 28th, **MDCLXXXIX**.

An elegant mural monument by P. Scheemakers; on the base of which the inscriptions are cut in separate columns. There is an escutcheon intended for the arms of the deceased prelate, but it has been left blank. On the plinth is a finely executed statue of Mrs. Cox, a whole-length, holding a book in one hand, and reclining her head on the other, which leans on an urn.

Archbishop Cox, who, before his translation to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel, was Bishop of Ossory from 1742–3 to 1755, was the son of Sir Richard Cox, the historian, and Lord Chancellor, of Ireland. His lady, here commemorated, was the second daughter of Captain James O'Brien, third son of William,

third Earl of Inchiquin, by his wife, Mary, daughter of the Very Rev. William Jephson, Dean of Kilmore. She died on the 19th January, 1745, leaving one son, Richard, born four days previously. In Archdall's *Lodge's Peerage* she is stated to have been buried at St. Michan's (Dublin?), but the inscription on this tomb would seem to state explicitly that her remains are interred beneath it. For a memoir of Archbishop Cox we must refer the reader to the proposed "History of the See of Ossory;" but it may not be out of place to mention here, that the second compartment of the monument, intended to be inscribed to the prelate after his death, having long remained vacant, a great sensation was created in Kilkenny by the following satirical epigram (which has been preserved by Shee), written on a sheet of paper, having been affixed to this unoccupied space:—

"Vainest of mortals! hadst thou sense or grace,
Thou ne'er hadst left this ostentatious space,
Nor given thy numerous foes such ample room
To tell posterity, upon thy tomb,
This well-known truth, by every tongue confest,
That by this blank thy life is best express'd."

It transpired in after years that this keen and bitter satire was written by the Rev. Marcus Monck, who died a few years since at a very advanced age, being then rector of Rathdowney, in the diocese of Ossory.

[85.] Here lie Interred the Remains of the Rev^d Doctor Robert Mossom, Of the University of Trinity College Dublin, Formerly a Senior Fellow & Divinity Professor. Afterwards for the space of Forty six years Of this Cathedral Resident Dean. A Pattern of true Piety, and a Friend to all Mankind. He Died A Faithful Servant of Christ; On the 8th Day of Feb^r O.S. 1746. Aged 80.

Here also lie The Remains of his Son THOMAS MOSSOM Esq^r, Of the City of Kilkenny ALDERMAN. He died Universally Acknowledged a steady Friend & good Man: On the 15th day of Aug^t 1777, Aged 56 Years. This Monument is Erected by His Executrix According to his directions.

These inscriptions are cut in separate columns on a mural tablet, erected on the south side of the west door of the cathedral.

The family of Mossom, Massum, or Masham, was anciently seated in York-

shire and Lincolnshire, the name being derived from Masham, a village near Richmond. About the time of Henry VI. a branch passed into Suffolk, and became seated at Badwell Ash. In 1621, the head of this line was dignified with a baronetcy, and, in 1711-12, raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Massham of Otes, county of Essex. The first of the name who came to Ireland was the Right Rev. Robert Mossom, D. D., Bishop of Derry from 1656 to 1679; in which year he died, leaving by his wife, a Miss Eland, of Bedale, Yorkshire, a son, Robert Mossom, LL. D., Master in the Court of Chancery, who was father of the Very Rev. Dr. Mossom, Dean of Ossory. This dignitary was born in Dublin about the year 1666, and entered the University of that city on the 29th June, 1682, being then in his seventeenth year. In 1689 his widowed mother, whose maiden name was Reresby, being absent from Ireland, was attainted by King James's Parliament. Robert Mossom took his degree of A. M. in July, 1691, and was elected a Fellow of Trinity College 23rd May, 1692. In 1694 he was chosen Junior Dean and Sub-Lecturer, in 1696 Senior Fellow and Senior Lecturer, and in 1697 Preacher and Registrar; in 1698 he proceeded to the degree of B. D.; in 1700 the degree of D. D.; and on the 25th of February, 1701-2, was promoted to the deanery of Ossory, *vice* John Pooley, when he resigned his Senior Fellowship. He made a considerable figure in the Lower House of Convocation, and corresponded with Dean Swift. On the 15th April, 1703, he married Rebecca, daughter of Alderman Robert Mason, of Meath-street, Dublin, and had issue two sons, Eland and Thomas. A separate monument, which we shall notice in its place, commemorates the elder. The younger, known in the family by the *sobriquet* of "Lobster Tom," was born about the year 1720, and resided at Grange Mac Combe, in the county of Kilkenny. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1737, and was called to the Irish Bar in 1758; was admitted to the freedom of the city of Kilkenny 28th April, 1747, and was subsequently elected an Alderman, and filled the office of Mayor, and died in 1777. The wills of Dean Mossom and his son Thomas are on record. The former directed by that instrument, bearing date 1st March, 1745, that if he should die in Kilkenny his body should be privately buried in a convenient place in the cathedral of St. Canice; but if his decease should take place in Dublin, or anywhere remote from Kilkenny, he should be interred in the church of the parish in which he should die. His

*Records of Trin.
Coll., Dublin.*

*King's State of
the Protestants
&c. (ed. 1730),
Appendix, p. 83.
Records of Trin.
Coll. Dublin.*

*Liber Munerum.
Ayacough MSS.,
British Museum,
4760, p. 76.
Walter Scott's
2nd Edit. of
Swift's Works
(ed. 1824),
vol. xix., p. 275.*

*Prerogative
Office, Dublin.*

property having been already settled, he merely bequeathed some testimonials to his friends, amongst which was a "ring of one large table diamond, set round with sparks," together with half his books, to his eldest son, Eland, desiring him to burn "all such useless papers as he shall find in my study or elsewhere;" the other half of his books, "especially the books on Divinity," to his son Thomas; and he left £5 to be distributed to those on the poor-list of the cathedral of St. Canice. The will of Thomas Mossom is dated 15th August, 1777, and he thereby directs "that I may be interred near the bodies of my Father and Mother in the Cathedral of St. Canice Kilkenny, and do leave a sum of £20 to the Economist of the Dean and Chapter for said purpose, to indemnify him for the same; and I also leave the sum of £20 to my executor for a tombstone, to be placed over the body of my honoured Father, the Rev. Robt. Mossom, the words of which shall be annexed in a schedule to this will." The sole executrix of this will was his niece, Lady Wheeler Cuffe, who accordingly erected the monument under notice. By his wife, a Miss Ouseley, Thomas Mossom left an only daughter, Maria, who married, April 28th, 1781, Richard, only son of Captain S. Meekins, R.N., and was mother of the present Robert Meekins^a, Esq., of Glasthule House, county of Dublin.

*Registrar's
Office, Diocese
of Ossory.*

[86.] Here Lyeth The Body of The Reuer^d Henry Des Mynieres A. M. Prebendary of Killamory &c. Who Departed This Life The 28th Day of Nouember in The year of our Lord One Thousand Seuen Hundred and Fifty Three, Aged Sixty Eight Years.

A floor-slab ornamented with an escutcheon of arms in relief, the inscription in small Roman characters. The shield bears a chevron, charged with three fleurs-de-lis, between two mullets in chief and a pine-apple in base. Crest:—A mermaid crined, holding a mirror in the right hand and a comb in the left. Motto:—NEC ELECTUS NEC DEJECTUS.

Lewis Des-Myniers, a native of Amesfort, in the province of Utrecht, settled in Dublin, and was made a free denizen of Ireland on the 11th December, 1655. His son, Alderman John Des-Myniers, was Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin

*Archdall's
Lodge's Peerage,
vol. ii., p. 270.*

^a The authors are indebted to Thomas C. Mossom Meekins, Esq., B. A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, eldest son of this gentleman, for a pedigree of the Mossom family, and full

memoirs of the Dean and his son Thomas, which were intended for insertion in this work, but omitted, with regret, on the warning of the publishers that space would not admit of it.

for the year 1666, and had a son, Samuel, who married Jane, third daughter of Henry Ponsonby, of Stackstown and Crotto, in the county of Kerry, brother of Sir John Ponsonby, ancestor of the Earls of Bessborough. Both those brothers came to Ireland in the army of Cromwell in 1649, and received grants of land in consideration of their services. One of the issue of the marriage between Samuel Des-Myniers and Jane Ponsonby was the clergyman for whom the monument was placed in the cathedral of St. Canice. He was presented on the 26th March, 1737, to the prebend of Donadea, and the vicarages of Donadea and Balraken, in the diocese of Kildare, and on the 15th April, in the following year, was collated to the prebend of Killamory, in the diocese of Ossory. In 1746, on the 9th May, he was presented to the rectories of Clonegam and Newtown-Lennon, in the county of Waterford; but he still retained his prebendal stall in the cathedral of St. Canice, and continued to live in the city of Kilkenny, where he made his will on the 10th February, 1752-3, and died nine months subsequently. The preamble of the will states the reason for making it to be his sense of the uncertainty of life and his own "great disorders." Having in the usual form committed his soul to God, he proceeds:—"And my body I desire may be buried in the north aisle of the cathedral of St. Canice; and I desire my hereafter-named executor to procure a large marble stone, to be placed over my grave, with my Arms, Crest, and Motto, with the following inscription." The inscription as on the tomb having been then fully set out in the document, it proceeds:—"And I desire I may be buried in a decent and private manner, and my grave, if possible, to be ten foot deep." He bequeathed to his niece, Jane Magrath, his large silver punch-bowl and ladle, two silver sauce-boats, a dozen of silver-hafted knives, and a great number of silver and other articles of household ware, including the furniture of the "big parlour," the bedchamber where he lay, and "the Blew Room." To the Right Hon. Brabazon, Earl of Bessborough, he left "the Universal History, 20 vols.; Chambers's Dictionary, 2 vols.; Rapin's History, with the continuation; and my black-leather chair and stool;" also to the Right Hon. Lord Duncannon his sapphire ring, "set round with brillions," which he desires he may "ware for my sake;" and to his "good friend Robert Langrishe Esq^r," 8 guineas to buy him a ring;" to the Right Hon. the Earl of Carrick a gold locket, with Sir Piers Meade's hair enclosed in it; to his nephew, John Magrath, his chariot, furni-

Archdall's
Lodge's Peerage,
vol. ii., p. 270.
Ib.

Cotton's *Fasti*.

Archdall's
Lodge's Peerage,
vol. ii., p. 271.

*Prerogative
Office*, Dublin.

ture, and three coach-horses, and all the books in his study not otherwise bequeathed ; but he desired that his written sermons, which were in his large escritoir, might be burned by his executors.

[87.] Here Lyeth the Body of M^r James Davis of Bonnits Rath In the County of the City of Kilkenny Esq^r who Departed this life 9^{ber} y^e 10th 1763, Aged 90 years.

A floor-slab, with an ornamental border now nearly obliterated.

The gentleman for whom this tomb was here placed was a member of a respectable family settled in Kilkenny in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and who still continue landed proprietors of the county. He appears to have lived to a very great age, notwithstanding that his later years were embittered by the serious misconduct of two of his sons,—wild, reckless, and dissipated young men, whose thoughtless and extravagant habits led them to the commission of a crime which brought them to a death of pain and ignominy. They were concerned in a burglary and robbery committed at Inch House^a, near Kilkenny, the residence of a Mr. Lovett, a Dublin gentleman, who had married a daughter of the then Sir Richard Wheeler Cuffe, of Lyrath ; and having been tried and convicted of this offence at the Spring Assizes of Kilkenny for the year 1756, they were hanged at Gallows-green with some of their accomplices, persons of the lowest class and most infamous character. This stain on their name has, however, been fully wiped away by the virtues of some of the subsequent members of the family, and the late Major Davis of Dumfries, proprietor of Bonnets-rath, will long be remembered for his liberal contributions to the charities of Kilkenny.

[88.] SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF RICHARD POCOCKE LLD: WHO FROM THE ARCHDEACONRY OF DUBLIN, WAS PROMOTED TO THIS SEE MDCCLVI, AND TRANSLATED TO THAT OF MEATH MDCCLXV, WHERE HE DIED SEPTEMBER THE XVth IN THE SAME YEAR, HE DISCHARGED EVERY DUTY OF THE PASTORAL AND EPISCOPAL OFFICE, WITH PRUDENCE VIGILANCE AND FIDELITY ; ADORNING HIS STATION, WITH UNSHAKEN INTEGRITY OF HEART AND PURITY OF CONDUCT ;

^a Tradition has to these crimes added that of a paper by one of the authors, "Transact. of murder, but without sufficient grounds.—See the Kilk. Archæol. Society," vol. iii., p. 319.

ATTENTIVE TO THE INTEREST OF RELIGION, HE CAUSED SEVERAL PAROCHIAL CHURCHES TO BE REBUILT, WITHIN THIS DIOCESE; HE PROMOTED AND LIBERALLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE REPAIR, AND EMBELLISHMENT OF THIS CATHEDRAL CHURCH, THEN UNHAPPILY FALLING INTO DECAY, A ZEALOUS ENCOURAGER OF EVERY USEFUL PUBLIC WORK, ESPECIALLY THE LINEN MANUFACTURE, HE BEQUEATHED A VERY CONSIDERABLE LEGACY, TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY, FOR PROMOTING THE UNITED INTERESTS OF INDUSTRY AND CHARITY, WITHIN THIS BOROUGH OF S^T CANICE.

A white marble mural tablet. For a memoir of Bishop Pococke the reader is referred to the proposed "History of the See of Ossory."

[89.] HUGO DAWSON S. T. P. HUIUS BASILICÆ PRÆCENTOR DIGNISSIMUS: VIR PIETATE DOCTRINA MORIBUS INSIGNIS DIEM OBIIT PRIDIE NON. MART. 1770 ÆTATIS SUE 72°. CHARISSIMA ET MOESTISSIMA CONJ^{UX} POSUIT.

TRANSLATION:—Hugo Dawson, S.T.P., the most worthy Precentor of this cathedral, a man distinguished for piety, learning, and morals, died on the 6th of March, 1770, in the 72nd year of his age. His most fond and sorrowing wife placed [this tomb].

A plain floor-slab.

Cotton's Fasti. The Rev. Hugh Dawson was presented by the Crown to the Treasurership of the Cathedral of St. Canice, by patent dated 29th November, 1731, and was instituted on the 9th December following. On the 21st May, 1754, the Crown also gave him the Precentorship, to which he was instituted on the 1st June in that year. By his will, dated at the glebe-house of Bamford, 22nd November, 1765, he directed that his body should be buried "in the privatest manner," and in such place as his executrix should appoint. Having left small legacies to a sister and nephew, he bequeathed the rest of his property to his wife, who had been a Miss Elizabeth Moore of the city of Kilkenny, and whom he nominated his executrix. Amongst the property enumerated are "a large silver Coffee Pot which the Rt. Hon. the late Lady Viscountess Ashbrooke gave unto me, and the Pearl necklace, Diamond Earrings, and all other Rings which my said beloved wife brought unto me"^a.

Prerogative Office, Dublin.

^a For extracts from this and other wills preserved in the Prerogative Office, Dublin, the authors are indebted to the kindness of John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

[90.] Here Lieth the Body of Nathaniel Taylor, Esq^r, who dep^d this Life May 10th 1773, Aged 61 Y^{rs}. As also the Body of Susanna his Wife, who dep^d this life March 5th 1775, Aged 53 Y^{rs}. This Tomb has been erected by their Nephew Edward Taylor, as a small token of his love and gratitude.

A table monument of the commonest kind.

Judging by the token, Mr. Edward Taylor's love and gratitude towards his departed relations must have been "small," indeed, as a more unseemly monument could not have been put up in such a place.

[91.] Here Lieth interred the Body of ELAND MOSSOM, Esq., Recorder of y^e City of Kilkenny & Representative in Parliament for the Borough of S^t CANICE IRISHTOWN. Who departed this Life on the 29th day of April 1774 universally & deservedly Lamented Aged 65.

This gentleman, the eldest son of Dean Mossom, whose monument has been already noticed, was born about the year 1709; called to the Bar in England, by the Middle Temple, 4th February, 1743, and to the Bar in Ireland, 22nd April, 1745; was chosen Recorder of the city of Kilkenny in 1750; and served in Parliament for the borough of Irishtown from 1759 till his death in 1774. He resided at Mount Eland, near Ballyragget; married Hannah, daughter of John Birch, Esq., and relict of Charles Heydock, Esq., of Kilcreene, near Kilkenny, and had issue by her four children, of whom the eldest, Eland Mossom, M. P. for Kilkenny, served in the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, and was Colonel of the Kilkenny Rangers. The eldest daughter, Rebecca, married Sir Richard Wheeler Cuffe, of Lyrath, and was grandmother of the present Sir Charles Frederick Wheeler Cuffe, Bart., of Lyrath, Captain in the 66th Regiment.

[92.] Here lie inter'd the Remains of Tho^s Pack Esq^r, eldest Son of the Rev^d Dean of Ossory. He was the hope of his Friends; And ornament of his Family. During two years continuance in the University, he acquir'd every honor attainable in so short a Period, and his Life, tho' limited, was mark'd with every virtue. He died on the 13th day of December 1786, Aged 17 years.


Also the Remains of Miss Anne Pack, Second Daughter of the Dean of Ossory. She resigned her Life on the 6th Day of August 1795, in the 22^d Year of her Age. Her disposition was mild and amiable, Her manners gentle and engaging: Her morning of Life was

soon overcast, And she fell an early, but not untimely Victim to the Grave. Catherine Anne, eldest daughter of the Very Rev^d Thomas Pack, Dean of Ossory, departed this life, on the 20th of April 1844, in the 72nd Year of her Age. Her Remains are deposited in the Harrow Road Cemetery, Middlesex.

“ Now, the end of the Commandment is Charity out of a pure heart, and a good Conscience and of Faith unfeigned.”—1st Tim^o 1st ch^p: 5th verse.

Here lie deposited the Remains of the Rev^d Tho^s Pack Dean of Ossory in whom was united every Virtue which could ornament the Christian or dignify the clerical Character Having faithfully discharged the Duties of his sacred Function for Fifty-two Years He closed his ministry and Life on the 26th of May in the 76th Year of his Age and of our Lord 1795.

Within this Vault rest the Remains of Mrs. Catherine Pack, Relict of the Rev^d Tho^s Pack, Dean of Ossory. She resigned her Soul into her Creator's hands, on the 10th of April 1801, in the 68th Year of her Age. Her Life exhibited an uniform Scene of unaffected Piety, And unbounded Charity; She was a faithful Wife, and affectionate Parent, And a firm Friend; And in the discharge of every Christian Duty, She was equall'd by few, She was excell'd by none.

A white marble mural monument. On the plinth is a small female figure reclining against an urn. On a slab in the floor near the tomb is cut the following inscription:— The Opening of the Vault of Tho^s Pack, Esq^r 1794.

The Pack family was originally seated in Leicestershire. Simon, son of Christopher Pack, settled in London at the end of the sixteenth century, and became Lord Mayor of that city. The Irish branch of the family claims to be derived from a younger son of this gentleman, who, having been engaged in the Wars of the Commonwealth, came over and settled in the Queen's County, and his descendant, Thomas Pack, of Ballinakill, married a Miss Kiley, and had three sons, of whom the eldest was the Very Rev. Thomas Pack, Dean of Ossory; the second was the Rev. Richard Pack, Principal of Kilkenny College; and the third, Samuel Pack, Esq., of Dublin, emigrated to America. This is the family tradition. We find amongst the Grants to Adventurers, under the Act of Settlement, one to Sir Christopher Pack, Bart., Sir Thomas Adams, and others, of lands in the county of East-Meath; and there is an entry on the “Issue Books” of the Commonwealth of an order, under date 13th April, 1660, for paying to Alderman Thomas Viner and Alderman Christopher Pack,

treasurers for the moneys collected for the poor Protestants of Piedmont, a sum of £200, in part of £7978 8s. 9d. Whether this Alderman Pack be the Sir Christopher of the grant, or whether the descent of the Packs of the county of Kilkenny is to be derived from him, we cannot take upon ourselves to determine. But, be this as it may, the Rev. Thomas Pack, A. M., was presented to the deanery of St. Canice on the 11th October, 1784, and instituted on the 24th of November following. He was father of Major-General Sir Denis Pack, whose monument we shall have to notice in its place. The Rev. Richard Pack, Treasurer of Ossory, who is descended from Dean Pack's brother, the principal of Kilkenny College, has in his possession a portrait, in oil, of Dean Pack, originally kit-kat size, but now reduced and put into a smaller frame. It represents a handsome man in the prime of life, wearing a wig and bands, and is well painted. *Cotton's Fasti.*

[93.] Sacred to the Memory of JOHN BAILLIE, Esq^r, of Dunean, Colonel of the Regiment of Loyal Inverness Fencibles. He Died in this City on his march to Oppose the Invading Enemy, On the 31st of January 1797. Aged 59.

A mural tablet, which was carefully repaired and restored in the year 1846, by Miss Anne Baillie, of Dunean, in the county of Inverness, the daughter of the gentleman for whom it was erected.

Colonel Baillie was descended from Sir William Baillie, of Lamington, whose eldest son, Alexander, by Marian, daughter of Sir John Seton, of Seton, fought at the battle of Brechin, and for his services was rewarded, in 1452, with the baronies of Dunean and Torbreck, part of the Castle lands of Inverness. As appears by the inscription on the monument, Colonel Baillie died in Kilkenny whilst proceeding with his regiment to join the army in opposing the expected landing of the French at Bantry Bay. *Burke's Landed Gentry.*

TOMBS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.—There are but eight monuments of this period, all of mural character, except the effigial tomb of John Marquis of Ormonde, lately erected, which is of altar shape. In this one instance also the letters of the inscription are in relief, all the others being incised.

[94.] 1813 Hic situs Episcopus Ossoriensis Johannes Kearney, D. D. Omnigena virtute cumulatus Religionis veræ cultor fervidus, Simplex, sanctus, inconcussus, Caritates domesticas enixe navavit, Muniis Episcopatus piissime præfuit, Rerum divinarum, et humanarum studio ditatus Mentem diligenter, et exquisite coluit.

Hic jacet Johannes Kearney, D.D., nuper Episcopus Ossoriensis qui obiit 22 die mensis Maii Anno Domini 1813.

Beneath are deposited the remains of the Reverend JOHN KEARNEY, Rector of Castle Inch, and Chancellor of this Cathedral, who died the 16th November, 1838, Aged 68 years. Also of ELIZABETH KEARNEY, his Widow, who died the 20th Novemb^r 1844, Aged 56 years.

Here also lies the Body of John Jam^m Kearney who departed this life the 28th day of December, 1824, aged 5 years & 5 months.

TRANSLATION:—1813. Here is buried John Kearney, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, abounding with all the virtues; zealous in the practice of true religion; guileless, holy, stedfast, he was remarkable for the cultivation of the domestic affections. The duties of the Episcopate he piously discharged, and in the study of things divine and human he trained his mind with diligence and refinement.

Here lieth John Kearney, D.D., sometime Bishop of Ossory, who died the 22nd day of the month of May, A.D. 1813.

A large tablet of black marble, connected with which is also a more modern floor-slab which has been lately raised and set in the wall.

Cotton's Fasti. For a memoir of Bishop Kearney the reader is referred to the proposed "History of the See of Ossory." The Rev. John Kearney, appointed Chancellor of Ossory in 1809, was son to that prelate. The Rev. Thomas Henry Kearney, another of the Bishop's sons, was appointed Dean's Vicar in 1807, and Prebendary of Blackrath, in the cathedral of St. Canice, in 1809.

[95.] NEAR THIS PLACE ARE INTERRED THE MORTAL REMAINS OF MAJOR GENERAL SIR DENIS PACK, KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE MOST HON. MILITARY ORDER OF THE BATH, AND OF THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY ORDER OF THE TOWER AND SWORD, KNIGHT OF THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN ORDER OF WLADIMER, AND OF THE IMPERIAL AUSTRIAN ORDER OF MARIA THERESA; COLONEL OF THE 84TH REG^T OF FOOT, AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF PLYMOUTH; WHO TERMINATED A LIFE DEVOTED TO THE SERVICE OF HIS KING AND COUNTRY ON THE 24TH DAY OF JULY 1823, AGED FORTY EIGHT YEARS.

THE NAME OF THIS DISTINGUISHED OFFICER IS ASSOCIATED WITH ALMOST EVERY BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BRITISH ARMY DURING THE EVENTFUL PERIOD OF CONTINENTAL WARFARE BETWEEN THE YEAR 1791 IN WHICH HE ENTERED HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE, AND THE YEAR 1823, IN WHICH HE ENDED

HIS HONORABLE CAREER. THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGNS IN FLANDERS IN 1794, AND 1795, HE SERVED IN THE 14TH REGIMENT OF LIGHT DRAGOONS; AT THE CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE IN 1806, AND IN THE ARDUOUS AND ACTIVE CAMPAIGN WHICH IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED IN SOUTH AMERICA, HE COMMANDED THE 71ST REGIMENT OF HIGHLANDERS IN A MANNER WHICH REFLECTED THE HIGHEST CREDIT ON HIS MILITARY SKILL AND VALOUR. AT THE HEAD OF THE SAME CORPS IN 1808, HE ACQUIRED FRESH REPUTATION IN THE BATTLES OF ROLEIA AND VIMIERA; AND IN THE FOLLOWING YEAR IN THE BATTLE OF CORUNNA. IN 1809 HE ACCOMPANIED THE EXPEDITION TO WALCHEREN, AND SIGNALIZED HIMSELF BY HIS ZEAL AND INTREPIDITY AT THE SIEGE OF FLUSHING. HE WAS SUBSEQUENTLY ENGAGED AT THE HEAD EITHER OF A BRIGADE, OR OF A DIVISION OF THE ARMY IN EVERY GENERAL ACTION AND REMARKABLE SIEGE WHICH TOOK PLACE DURING THE SUCCESSFUL WAR IN THE PENINSULA UNDER THE CONDUCT OF THE GREAT DUKE OF WELLINGTON. HE FINALLY COMMANDED A BRIGADE IN THE ACTION OF QUATRE BRAS AND AGAIN IN THE EVER MEMORABLE AND DECISIVE BATTLE OF WATERLOO. FOR THESE IMPORTANT SERVICES IN WHICH HE WAS NINE TIMES SEVERELY WOUNDED, HE OBTAINED AT THE RECOMMENDATION OF HIS ILLUSTRIOUS CHIEF FROM THE FOREIGN POTENTATES IN ALLIANCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN THE HONOURABLE TITLES OF DISTINCTION ABOVE MENTIONED, AND FROM HIS OWN SOVEREIGN, BESIDES THE ORDER OF THE BATH AND A MEDAL IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO, A GOLD CROSS WITH SEVEN CLASPS, ON WHICH ARE INSCRIBED THE FOLLOWING NAMES OF THE BATTLES AND SIEGES WHEREIN HE BORE A CONSPICUOUS PART VIZ. ROLEIA, CORUNNA, BUSACO, CUIDAD RODERIGO, SALAMANCA, VITTORIA, PYRENEES, NIVELLE, NIVE, ORTHES, TOULOUSE. UPON FIVE DIFFERENT OCCASIONS HE HAD ALSO THE HONOUR TO RECEIVE THE THANKS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. ON THE 5^D FEBRUARY 1813 FOR HIS CONDUCT AT SALAMANCA; ON THE 10TH FEBRUARY 1813 FOR HIS CONDUCT AT CUIDAD RODERIGO; ON THE 8TH NOVEMBER 1813 FOR HIS CONDUCT AT VITTORIA; ON THE 24TH MARCH 1814 FOR HIS CONDUCT AT ORTHES; ON THE 23^D JUNE 1815 FOR HIS CONDUCT AT WATERLOO. WHILST THESE HIS MERITS AS AN OFFICER ENSURE FOR HIM A PLACE IN THE RECORDS OF HIS GRATEFUL COUNTRY AMONGST THOSE HEROES WHO HAVE BRAVELY FOUGHT HER BATTLES AND ADVANCED HER MILITARY GLORY, HIS VIRTUES AS A MAN, WHICH WERE SECURELY FOUNDED UPON CHRISTIAN PIETY, ARE ATTESTED BY THE ESTEEM OF HIS COMPANIONS IN ARMS AND BY THE LOVE OF ALL WHO WERE INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH HIM.

THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY HIS WIDOW THE LADY ELIZABETH PACK, DAUGHTER OF GEORGE DE LA POER MARQUESS OF WATERFORD, AS A JUST TRIBUTE OF RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST DESERVING SOLDIERS AND SUBJECTS AND IN TESTIMONY OF HER OWN AFFECTION.

A chaste and handsome monument of white marble, bearing, above the inscription, a sword sheathed, and a laurel wreath encircling the word, PACK, surmounted by a bust, by Chantrey, of the deceased, decorated with five orders, in addition to the Waterloo medal and the Peninsular cross and clasps. Above is suspended (see p. 342, *infra*) a set of the colours of the 71st Regiment.

This gallant and distinguished officer was the second son of the Very Rev. Thomas Pack, Dean of Ossory (see No. 92). He entered the army, in his sixteenth year, as a cornet in the 14th Light Dragoons, his commission bearing date 30th

November, 1791. In January, 1792, he joined his regiment in Dublin, and served for some time in Ireland, which was then in a very disturbed state. An impression is generally prevalent, in his native county of Kilkenny, that, having been deprived of his commission for an act of insubordination towards his superior officer, within the first year or two of his service, he enlisted in the army, and rose, by regular gradation, from the ranks to the high position which he ultimately attained. It is strange that a doubt should exist as to any circumstance in the career of an eminent personage who lived and died so recently, but yet we have experienced much difficulty in ascertaining the real facts out of which this popular and widely prevailing error has arisen. We are informed by a gentleman still living in Kilkenny, that there is no doubt whatever of the fact of Cornet Pack having been cashiered by the sentence of a court-martial, held at the Court-house of Kilkenny about the year 1792, or 1793, on the charge of having struck Captain Sir George Dunbar, Bart., who was commanding his troop of the 14th Light Dragoons, then quartered in the village of Castlecomer. Our informant, who is very far advanced in years, was himself present at the promulgation of that sentence. However, as we find that the promotion of Cornet Denis Pack, of the 14th Light Dragoons, to a lieutenancy in the same corps, was gazetted on the 12th March, 1795, it is obvious that there was not time in the interim to go through all the grades from that of a private soldier upwards; and in fact there can be little doubt that the high-spirited young man, on losing his commission, at once proceeded to serve with the army as a volunteer*, and was thus quickly restored to his former rank. In 1794 he embarked at Cork, and landed with the forces under Lieutenant-General the Earl of Moira at Ostend, and soon after received the thanks of Major-General Richard Vyse for his success in

Cannon's Historical Record of the 71st Regiment of Highland Light Infantry (London, 1852), p. 152.

* The address which the Corporation of Kilkenny resolved, on the 7th May, 1811, to present to him in a gold box, and which we here transcribe from their Minute-book, would seem to establish the fact of General Pack having joined the army on the Continent as a volunteer; but under any circumstances it must be deemed desirable that the document should be placed on record as a tribute to the distinguished officer

from the Civic Council of his native town:—

“Sir,—Attached to you by every tie of Friendship and regard, we feel with an Enthusiasm exceeded only by your own, the early and illustrious career of glory you have trod, which no other than a bold and ardent Spirit, sanguine in his Country's and his Sovereign's Cause, could have inspired.

“We follow you with mingled Emotions of

bearing an important despatch to Nieuport, under circumstances of much danger—a duty for which he had volunteered. The squadron to which he was attached having been ordered, after the embarkation at Ostend, to retreat on Nieuport, the latter place was immediately so closely invested by the enemy as to render escape extremely hazardous and difficult. Cornet Pack was in a boat which also carried about one hundred French *émigrés*—the last of those who escaped the horrors of that ill-fated garrison; but he did not gain the sea without a sharp action and severe loss. He joined the army of the Duke of York near Antwerp, was present at the action of Boxtel, and other less important collisions with the enemy, and in 1795 returned to England, receiving his promotion to a lieutenancy the same year. Having gone on foreign service again for a few months, in 1796 he returned and received his troop in the 5th Dragoon Guards on the 27th February. We next find him serving in Ireland during the disturbances preceding 1798, and the final outbreak of that year; and he received a complimentary notice in a despatch of General Lord Cornwallis, K. G., 21st June, 1798, in consequence of having, with a cavalry detachment placed under his charge, defeated a party of the insurgents between Rathangan and Prosperous. After the landing of the French at Killala, upon their surrender, Captain Pack commanded the escort which conveyed General Humbert a prisoner of war to Dublin. On the 25th August, 1798, he was advanced to the rank of Major in the 4th Royal Irish Dragoon Guards, and on the 6th December, 1800, was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 71st Regiment of Highland light infantry. In command of the first battalion of that corps he embarked at Cork in August, 1805, in the expedition to the Cape of Good Hope, under Sir David Baird, and was severely wounded in the landing at the Cape, notwithstanding which he continued in the field, and was engaged in the action at Bleu-Berg. In

Pride and admiration, from your early and voluntary Service on the Continent to the Shores of the East, and thence to the Southerly Regions of the new world, from which, as well as from the recent Laurels acquired in Portugal, your Country Men would Borrow a reflected Credit without robbing the object of their Pride.

“It is with no ordinary Interest we Contemplate the immediate Native of our Soil in the

present arduous Conflict, standing foremost on the list of Fame, and on every occasion Courting Danger in Defence of the Liberty of Europe.

“Having already the Honor of your Name Enrolled among the Freemen of our Corporation, We have only now to assure you that it will never Cease to hold a distinguished place in the hearts and admiration of the Citizens of Kilkenny.”

2 x 2

1806 he joined the expedition to South America under the command of Brigadier General Beresford, where he was present in six actions with the enemy, and was wounded, and detained a prisoner after the restoration of Buenos Ayres to the Spaniards. This detention of Colonel Pack and his brother officers was a disgraceful violation of the terms of capitulation, which stipulated an immediate exchange of prisoners, and Colonel Liniers, the Spanish commanding officer, himself expressing abhorrence of the breach of faith which his Government forced upon him. Pack, however, contrived to effect his escape, with Brigadier Beresford, while carrying as a prisoner into the interior; and, having joined the army under Sir Samuel Auchmuty at Monte Video, a board of naval and military officers, at Colonel Pack's request, was assembled to investigate the circumstance, when the escape was unanimously approved of as most consistent with honour and propriety. He subsequently commanded in a couple of minor actions with the enemy in South America, in which he was most successful, in one of them capturing a Spanish standard; and was in some engagements on the River Plate and at Buenos Ayres, being three times severely wounded. Returning to Europe in 1807, he proceeded, in 1808, with his regiment to join the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley to Portugal, and was present at the important engagements which ensued. We next find him serving under Sir John Moore at the affair of Lugo, and at the battle of Corunna; thence we trace him to Holland, commanding a corps of cavalry and light infantry under the Earl of Chatham, and engaged in the siege of Flushing, heading a detachment in storming an important outpost, in which he succeeded signally, although opposed by a force five times more numerous than his own. His regiment returned to England in 1809, but their gallant Lieutenant-Colonel refused to remain at home inactive whilst a momentous struggle was about to commence in the Peninsula, and he therefore volunteered to serve with the Portuguese troops, accepting an infantry brigade, and took an active part in the subsequent campaigns under the then Viscount Wellington. It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of his subsequent career, the inscription on his tomb naming the various actions in which he took part, and the honours which he received from his country in acknowledgment of his services*. On the 8th

* The Duke of Wellington's "Despatches," and Napier's "Peninsular War," may be referred to for the details of General Pack's services; but a very full memoir of General Pack, from which

of January, 1816, Major-General Sir Denis Pack was appointed Colonel of the York Chasseurs, which corps was subsequently disembodied. On the 12th of August, 1819, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Plymouth, and given the command of the troops in the western district of Great Britain; and on the 9th September, 1822, he was gazetted to the Colonelcy of the 84th regiment. His last illness resulted from the rupture of a bloodvessel, finally terminating in dropsy, and he died at the house of Lord Beresford, Wimpole-street, London, on the 24th of July, 1823. In the afternoon of Saturday, the 9th of August, the remains of the gallant deceased arrived at Kilkenny, for interment in the family vault. The funeral cortege, which was attended from Dublin by Lord Combermere and Major-General Sir Colquhoun Grant, as representatives of the Government and Army, was met outside the city by the military of the garrison, the Mayor and members of the Corporation in their official robes, and an immense concourse of the inhabitants of the county and town, of all ranks and classes, and was conducted to the cathedral, the band of the 78th regiment performing the funeral dirge. The burial service was read by the Dean of Ossory.

A portrait of Sir Denis Pack, painted three years before he entered the army, is in the possession of his relative, the Rev. Richard Pack, Treasurer of Ossory*. It is an oval, the bust smaller than life, and represents a fine boy with long curling brown hair, light blue eyes, blue coat, and frills to his shirt. It is inscribed with the artist's name, "G. Lawrence, No. 35, Frederick-street, Dec. 11, 1788," and is well painted on coarse paper, in tempera. The features bear a likeness to the bust on the monument, in so far as those of a boy may resemble a man's. In after life, amongst other likenesses of this distinguished soldier, one, half length, was painted by Saunders, and engraved in mezzotint by C. Turner, A. R. A. Sir Denis Pack's widowed lady (Elizabeth Louisa, the youngest daughter of George, first Marquis of Waterford, and last

most of the information above given has been derived, will be found in the "Historical Records of the 71st Regiment of Highland Light Infantry," already quoted. The authors are indebted to Lieut.-Colonel Arthur John Reynell Pack, C. B., and the Rev. George L. Shannon, M. A., of

Kilkenny, for some additional information.

* The Rev. Richard Pack also possesses a mahogany desk, bearing engraved on a plate, outside, the words, "Lt. Colonel Pack, 71st Regiment;" on a plate, within, "Taken at St. Pedro, South America, 7 June, 1807."

surviving sister of his Grace the Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Primate of Ireland, who was married to Sir Denis Pack on the 10th July, 1816), re-married with Sir Thomas Reynell, Bart., K. C. B., who, about the year 1813, succeeded the Hon. Colonel Cadogan in the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the second battalion of the 71st regiment, and died in 1848. Her Ladyship, who died in 1855, in her seventy-second year, had no issue by her second marriage, but by the first left the following issue:—1. Lieut.-Colonel Arthur John Reynell-Pack, C.B. and Knight of the Legion of Honor, who has highly distinguished himself in the Crimea; 2. Denis William Pack-Beresford, who resigned his commission of Captain in the Royal Artillery on being left, by the will of Field-Marshal Lord Beresford, large estates in the county of Carlow, with condition that he should assume the name of Beresford; 3. Anne Elizabeth Pack; 4. Elizabeth Catherine Pack. Lieut.-Colonel Reynell-Pack married, 28th December, 1850, Frederica Katherine, second daughter of Colonel the Hon. Hely Hutchinson, and has issue four daughters. Miss Elizabeth Catherine Pack was married in July, 1842, to Sir John William Hamilton Anson, Bart., and has issue nine children. The second son and eldest daughter are unmarried.

[96.] FREDERICK GEORGE HOWARD SECOND SON OF THE EARL OF CARLISLE
CAPTAIN OF THE 90TH REGIMENT DIED A: D: 1833. ÆT: 28.

WITHIN THIS HALLOWED AISLE, MID GRIEF SINCERE,
FRIENDS, COMRADES, BROTHERS, LAID YOUNG HOWARD'S BIER:
GENTLE AND BRAVE, HIS COUNTRY'S ARMS HE BORE
TO GANGES STREAM, AND AVA'S HOSTILE SHORE;
HIS GOD THROUGH WAR AND SHIPWRECK WAS HIS SHIELD,
BUT STRETCHED HIM LIFELESS ON THE PEACEFUL FIELD:
THINE ARE THE TIMES AND WAYS, ALL RULING LORD!
THY WILL BE DONE, ACKNOWLEDGED, AND ADORED!

An unpretending tablet of black and white marble.

Captain Howard was the second son of George, the sixth Earl of Carlisle (by Georgiana, eldest daughter of William, fifth Duke of Devonshire), and brother to the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was born on the 8th June, 1805, and entered the army at an early age, serving in the first Burmese war, and escaping the dangers of shipwreck on the coast of India, as alluded to in the inscription. In the year 1833 the head-quarters of his regiment were

in the city of Kilkenny, and a detachment was stationed at Newtownbarry, county of Carlow. On the morning of Friday, the 15th November in that year, Captain Howard, with two brother officers, left the barracks of Kilkenny in a curricule, to visit their friends at Newtownbarry, but at a short distance beyond Bagnalstown the horses took fright and ran away. Captain Howard, in attempting to leap out of the vehicle, was unfortunately thrown with great violence on his head, which caused effusion of blood on the brain, and he died on Sunday, the 17th November, to the deep and unfeigned grief of his brother officers, and the entire of his corps, by whom he was most deservedly beloved. The next day his remains were conveyed to Kilkenny, and on Monday, the 25th November, were interred in the cathedral of St. Canice, being accompanied to the grave by the 90th regiment, with Captain Gifford's troop of the 10th Hussars, then in that garrison, and a large number of the citizens and the gentry of the surrounding district. His elder brother, then Lord Morpeth, attended as chief mourner on the occasion, and was the writer of the lines which form the brief epitaph upon the tablet. Captain Howard was Member of Parliament for the borough of Morpeth at the time of his untimely decease.

[97.] CHARLES VERE LEVINGE LATE ENSIGN 71ST HIGHLANDERS AND SON OF SIR RICHARD LEVINGE BAR^T DIED 14TH JUNE 1837 AGED 19 YEARS. THIS TABLET WAS PLACED BY HIS BROTHER OFFICERS AS A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF ONE WHO DURING THE SHORT TIME HE WAS AMONG THEM ENDEARED HIMSELF BY HIS MILD DISPOSITION AND MANY AMIABLE QUALITIES.

A tablet of black and white marble.

The young officer, whose sepulchral memorial this is, was the fifth son of Sir Richard Levinge, Bart., of Knockdrin Castle, county of Westmeath, by Elizabeth Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas Boothby, first Lord Radcliffe. He was born the 11th January, 1818, and in 1836 entered the army, being appointed Ensign and Lieutenant 1st Battalion Scots Fusilier Guards by purchase, May 20, in that year; which appointment, however, was cancelled on the 8th July following, in consequence of his being gazetted July 1, to an ensign's commission, by purchase, in the 71st Highland Light Infantry, in which his elder brother, Angus Frederick, was then Lieutenant, and his uncle, Charles Levinge,

was Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. He died next year, after a few days' illness, whilst his regiment was quartered in Kilkenny, and was interred, with the accustomed military honours, in the cathedral of St. Canice, on Friday, 16th of June. The regiment, having received new colours a few days previously, took the occasion of Mr. Levinge's funeral to suspend their old standards on the monument of their former Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Denis Pack, in the cathedral.

[98.] SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MOST HONORABLE JAMES WANDESFORDE BUTLER, SECOND MARQUIS OF ORMONDE, HEREDITARY CHIEF BUTLER OF IRELAND, KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF S^t. PATRICK, LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY AND CITY OF KILKENNY, VICE ADMIRAL OF THE PROVINCE OF LEINSTER, AND COLONEL OF THE KILKENNY REGIMENT OF MILITIA. HE WAS THE THIRD SON OF JOHN BUTLER, EARL OF ORMONDE AND OSSORY, AND OF ANNE, ONLY DAUGHTER OF JOHN, EARL OF WANDESFORDE. HE WAS BORN ON THE 15TH OF JULY, 1774, AND SUCCEEDED HIS ELDEST BROTHER WALTER, MARQUIS OF ORMONDE, ON THE 10TH OF AUGUST, 1820. HE MARRIED ON THE 12TH OF OCTOBER, 1807, GRACE LOUISA, DAUGHTER OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE JOHN STAPLES, OF LISSANE, IN THE COUNTY OF TYRONE, BY WHOM HE HAD ISSUE FIVE SONS—JOHN, WALTER, JAMES, RICHARD, AND CHARLES; AND FIVE DAUGHTERS—HARRIET, ANNE, LOUISA, ELIZABETH, AND MARY. HE DIED AFTER A SHORT ILLNESS, IN DUBLIN, ON THE 18TH OF MAY, 1838 AND WAS BURIED IN THE CHURCH OF S^t MARY, IN THAT CITY. AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE AFFECTION AND DEEP RESPECT TO A FOND AND JUDICIOUS PARENT, THIS TABLET IS ERECTED IN HIS NATIVE CITY, BY HIS SURVIVING CHILDREN.

“BLESSED ARE THE DEAD WHICH DIE IN THE LORD: THEY REST FROM THEIR LABOURS AND THEIR WORKS DO FOLLOW THEM.”—REV. XIV.—13.

A handsome mural tablet of white marble, exhibiting, above the inscription, two escutcheons; first, the Ormonde arms, separately, surrounded by the collar, jewel, and motto of St. Patrick, secondly, another shield, surrounded by a wreath, bearing the Ormonde arms impaling on a fess, between three hurts, two goats' heads erased, for Staples. Motto:—COMME JE TROUVE.

This nobleman was, as stated in the inscription, the third son of John Butler, Esq., of Garryricken, who in 1791 was restored to the ancient honours of his family (in abeyance since the attainder of the second Duke of Ormonde

in 1715) as seventeenth Earl of Ormonde, and succeeded, in 1820, his brother Walter, the eighteenth Earl, who had been created Marquis of Ormonde in Ireland, and Baron Butler of Llanthony, in England, with remainder to his issue male, in default of which those honours died with him, and Lord James succeeded as nineteenth Earl only; however, at the coronation of George IV. he was created a peer of the united kingdom, as Baron Ormonde of Llanthony, and on the 5th October, 1825, was advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Ormonde in the peerage of Ireland*. As colonel of the Kilkenny regiment of militia, he served with the army throughout the rebellion in Ireland in 1798, and was present at the battle of Castlebar and other engagements. In 1821 he was installed a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick. Lord Ormonde was Custos Rotulorum, as well as Lieutenant, of the County and City of Kilkenny.

[99.] SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF THE RIGHT REV^d. ROBERT FOWLER D. D. LORD BISHOP OF OSSORY, LEIGHLIN AND FERNS, ONLY SON OF ROBERT ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, AND MILDRED DEALTRY HIS WIFE, BORN FEBRUARY 12th 1768, EDUCATED AT WESTMINSTER SCHOOL, AND CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE OXFORD, APPOINTED TO THE VICARAGE OF S^t. ANNE'S JULY 6th 1789, WHICH HE VACATED FOR THE ARCH-DEACONRY OF DUBLIN APRIL 24th 1794, WAS CONSECRATED BISHOP OF OSSORY, MAY 1813, AND ACCORDING TO THE CHURCH TEMPORALTIES ACT SUCCEEDED TO THE SEES OF LEIGHLIN AND FERNS, UNITED TO OSSORY ON THE DEATH OF THE RIGHT REV^d. D^r. ELRINGTON. WAS MARRIED JANUARY 30th 1796, TO THE HON^{ble}. LOUISA GARDINER ELDEST DAUGHTER OF LUKE VISCOUNT MOUNTJOY, AND HAD TWO SONS, ROBERT AND LUKE. HE DIED DECEMBER 31st 1841, IN THE 74th YEAR OF HIS AGE, AND WAS BURIED ACCORDING TO HIS WILL, IN THE FAMILY VAULT OF THE LATE VISCOUNT MOUNTJOY IN S^t. THOMAS'S CHURCH DUBLIN.

This tribute of affection and respect is erected by his widow and children.

"Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection and the life: He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: And whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die. Believest thou this?"—JOHN xi. 25, 26.

* This nobleman was, strictly speaking, the *first* Marquis of the creation of 1825. Following the rule by which he is termed "second Marquis" in the above inscription, it would be more proper to style him "fourth Marquis," as the first and second Dukes of Ormonde enjoyed that title before his brother Walter. His son is properly styled "second Marquis."—See p. 345, *infra*.

A handsome black and white marble mural tablet, exhibiting at top a shield bearing, per pale—dexter side, per fess, in chief gules a chalice covered and terminated by a cross between five crosses patée fitchée, for the see of Ossory; in base, sable two croziers in saltire surmounted of a mitre, for the sees of Leighlin and Ferns*; sinister side, quarterly, 1st and 4th, ermine on a canton gules, an owl; 2nd and 3rd, azure on a chevron, between three lions passant gardant, as many crosslets fitchée, for Fowler.

For a memoir of Bishop Fowler, the reader is referred to the proposed “History of the See of Ossory.”

[100.] SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF THE HONOURABLE AND VERY REVEREND JOSEPH BOURKE M. A. THIRD SON OF HIS GRACE JOSEPH DEANE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, EARL OF MAYO, AND OF ELIZABETH, DAUGHTER OF SIR RICHARD MEADE. FOR FORTY EIGHT YEARS HE WAS DEAN OF OSSORY. HE FOUND THIS SACRED EDIFICE MUCH DELAPIDATED, AND CEASED NOT HIS EXERTIONS UNTIL HE SAW IT COMPLETELY RESTORED, AND MADE MEET FOR HIS MASTER'S CONSTANT SERVICE. TO SET FORTH THE GLORY OF GOD, AND SET FORWARD THE SALVATION OF MAN, WAS HIS GREAT OBJECT AND AIM ON EARTH; AND NOW HE RESTS IN HOPE OF A BLESSED IMMORTALITY THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD. HE WAS BORN DECEMBER 24TH, 1771, AND DIED MAY 3RD 1843.

A tablet of black and white marble.

The Honorable and Very Rev. Joseph Bourke was the third son of the Archbishop of Tuam, who was also third Earl of Mayo. He was presented to the Deanery, August 29, 1795, and instituted on the 12th September following. He married on the 23rd April, 1799, Mary, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sackville Gardiner, Esq., by whom he had three sons and two daughters. In 1812 he was made Chancellor of Waterford, in addition to his Deanery; and died at Salt Hill, near Dublin, on 3rd May, 1843.

* An old heraldic MS. (*penes auct.*) observes that the arms of the see of Ossory, which are therein described nearly as above, were,—“Antiently, in Bishop Hartstonges Time, A Bishop habited, & standing between 2 pillars, holding his crozier in his left hand and in his right a

Bible Close proper.” In the same manuscript Ferns and Leighlin are blazoned “Saphire 2 Keys Saltirewise supprest by a Mitre with Labels in Fess Topaz.” It is much to be wished that the ancient arms of the sees had been retained.

[100]. † HERE IN THE FAITH AND GRACE OF CHRIST RESTS THE BODY OF JOHN BUTLER SECOND MARQUIS OF ORMONDE WHOM GOD CALLED TO HIMSELF THE 25TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1854 • IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE BLESSINGS OF THE PAST, & IN EXPECTANCY OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD AND THE LIFE OF THE WORLD TO COME HIS WIDOW RAISES THIS MEMORIAL TO HER BELOVED HUSBAND•

This is a very beautiful altar tomb, with recumbent effigy, executed by Mr. Edward Richardson, of London. The plinth is of gray Kilkenny limestone, consisting of two steps; on this stands the monument, which is of the table form, and sculptured in fine-grained Caen stone. The style followed all through is early Decorated Gothic. The base and cornice are richly molded—deep hollows throwing out finely the more prominent members of each group. Each side is enriched by five molded quatrefoils of an upright-oval form, within which are suspended by the strap or guige, heater-shaped shields, each charged with the armorial bearings of the deceased, and surmounted by a Marquis's coronet; the central shield bears all the charges quarterly, which are again carved singly on the four others, viz.: 1, the chief, indented, the original cognizance of the family; 2, three covered cups, an additional bearing assumed with the office of chief butler of Ireland; 3, a lion rampant, on a chief a swan between two annulets, the arms borne by Edmond Earl of Carrick, father of the first Earl of Ormonde; 4, ermine, a saltier engrailed, the arms of the Fitzgeralds of the house of Desmond—James, the ninth Earl of Ormonde, having married Joan, the daughter and sole heir of an Earl of Desmond. Round the central shield are hung the collar and jewel of the order of St. Patrick. This arrangement is repeated on each side. At each end of the tomb is a quatrefoil of similar form, and enriched similarly with the central side compartments already described—the shield being charged with the achievement of the deceased, already described, borne quarterly; and impaling, on a cross engrailed, between four eagles displayed, five lions passant for Paget. The spandrils of the quatrefoils are filled with foliage carved from nature. At the angles, where two half quatrefoils meet, stand angels supported by foliated corbels, and holding in their hands scrolls bearing

the following texts:—*I am the Resurrection and the Life. I know that my Redeemer lieth. Blessed are the dead to die in y^e Lord. Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done.* Round the upper member of the cornice runs the inscription, carved in raised ornamental capitals, partaking of the Lombardic character. The monument is surmounted by the effigy of the deceased, clothed in the mantle and collar of the Order of St. Patrick. The eyes are closed as in sleep. The six children of Lord and Lady Ormonde are grouped at the head and feet. The eldest son and daughter, the present Marquis and Lady Mary Butler, support the head, each kneeling on one knee, whilst the second son, Lord Hubert, clings to his lost parent, resting his infant head on that of his father. At the feet are the three younger children, Lord Arthur Butler kneeling in the centre, with his hands clasped, as if in prayer; while at either side sit the infant Lord Theobald and Lady Blanche. The idea of grouping the children at the head and foot of the effigy on the monument was painfully appropriate from the circumstances attending the death of this nobleman; and is said to have been suggested by their real position as they hung round the unconscious body of their beloved parent on the strand beneath Loftus Hall. The monument is surrounded by a light iron railing of Gothic character, harmonizing with the general design.

The much lamented nobleman for whom this tomb was erected was the eldest son of the Marquis James—whose monument has been already noticed—by Grace Louisa (third daughter of the Right Hon. John Staples and the Hon. Henrietta Molesworth, daughter of the third Viscount Molesworth), who still survives. He was born in Merrion-square, Dublin, on the 24th August, 1808, was educated at Harrow school, and subsequently took the degree of M. A. at Oxford. During his father's life, whilst bearing the title of Earl of Ossory, he was elected Member of Parliament for the county of Kilkenny, in 1830; and, by his father's decease on the 22nd May, 1838, he succeeded to the peerage as second Marquis of Ormonde (of the creation of 1825), twenty-first Earl of Carrick (1315), twentieth Earl of Ormonde (1328), twelfth Earl of Ossory (1527), ninth Viscount Thurles (1537), twenty-third Baron Arklow by tenure, all dignities in the peerage of Ireland; and second Baron Ormonde of Llanthony Abbey, county of Monmouth (1821), in the peerage of the United Kingdom. In September, 1841, he was appointed a Lord in Waiting to the Queen, and having held that office to February, 1852, he was re-appointed

in January, 1853, and retained it to his death. He was installed a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick in 1845, and was also Hereditary Chief Butler of Ireland; Colonel of the Kilkenny Militia; Vice-President of the Royal Dublin Society; Patron of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society; President of the Kilkenny Literary and Scientific Institution, &c., &c. On the 19th September, 1843, he married Frances Jane, eldest daughter of the Honourable Sir Edward Paget, G. C. B., and niece to the late Marquis of Anglesey. His Lordship's death occurred suddenly in the year 1854, under very melancholy circumstances. He had proceeded with his family from the Castle of Kilkenny to Loftus Hall, a seat of Lord Ely, on the coast of the county of Wexford, for the bathing season, and on the morning of the 25th September, whilst bathing and sporting with his children in the shallow water on the beach near the Hall, was suddenly stricken down by apoplexy amongst them, and within view of his lady who was on the strand, and expired almost immediately. His remains were conveyed to Kilkenny, and interred in the cathedral of St. Canice, the burial-place of his ancestors, on the 2nd of October following, accompanied by such a demonstration of respectful sorrow on the part of the inhabitants of the city and county as had not been witnessed for many centuries. The body was borne to the grave by the mourning tenantry of the Ormonde estates, by whom his Lordship was deeply and deservedly beloved, and amongst whom and their posterity his memory will be ever cherished as that of a good and indulgent landlord. The funeral cortege was composed of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, and inhabitants of the surrounding district—the Corporation of the city in official costume—the local Masonic bodies, of one of whose lodges the noble deceased had been a member—the pupils of Kilkenny College, a foundation of the Ormonde family, in which he had manifested a warm interest—the military of the garrison—&c., &c. The Lord Bishop of Ossory officiated at the obsequies, and delivered an eloquent discourse on the occasion, bearing testimony to the exalted character and many virtues of the noble deceased in terms so just and so well-deserved, that (as any words of ours could ill supply the place of the preacher's eulogy) we are tempted to quote the following passage :—

A Sermon on the Occasion of the Funeral of John Marquis of Ormonde, &c., (privately printed), p. 27.

“ The representative and head of an illustrious house, he was fitted to grace any lineage however exalted. His mental endowments had been carefully cultivated, and combined,

as they were, with no common measure of sensibility and taste, they qualified him to appreciate and to enjoy everything that was beautiful in nature, or art, or literature. And the means of all such refined enjoyments were to a large extent within his reach. But his moral qualities were a source of higher happiness to himself and to others, than any that the gifts of either intellect or fortune could yield. He was not merely most honourable and upright, and conscientious in every relation of life, both public and private, but he exhibited in all a nature so kindly, that I believe it is no exaggeration to say, that, having passed forty-six years in this world, and mingled with all ranks of society in it, he has not only not left an enemy behind him, but not even an individual who cherished an unkindly feeling towards him; and that while few enjoyed a larger measure of esteem and of affection from those who came nearer to him (I do not of course speak of those who were bound to him by the nearest ties), he had the rare felicity, that he was valued most, loved most, and is mourned most by those who had known him longest and best."

Few that heard these words, and saw the remains of that good man lowered into his grave, amidst the silent grief of the thousands who thronged the aisles of the venerable cathedral, can readily forget the scene, or have failed to carry with them into the work-day world thoughts calculated to make them sadder and better men. The Marquis of Ormonde's chief pleasure consisted in the gratification of his refined literary tastes. He was an accomplished classical scholar, and is known to the world of letters by his "Autumn in Sicily," "Vita Sancti Kannechi," and other works. At the time of his death he was engaged in selecting from the invaluable collection of manuscripts, which he had inherited, materials for a History of the House of Ormonde. His eldest son, James Edward William Theobald, who succeeded to the titles and honours of the family, was born in 1844, and is godson of the late Queen Adelaide.—J. G., and J. G. A. P.

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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 284, line 30, for West Munster read East Munster.
 „ 249, line 8, for *Μαυρησάβ Θεαροιβ* read *Μάυρησάβ νον Θεαροιβ*
 (*recte Μάυρησάβ ινθεν Θεαροιβ*).
 „ 267, line 11, for *Kilkylhym* read *Kilkylhyn*.
 „ 272, line 20, for *achievement* read *quarterings*.

THE END.

